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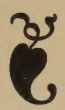

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DO YOU KNOW YOUR LOWNDES? A BIBLIOGRAPHICAL ESSAY ON WILLIAM THOMAS LOWNDES AND INCIDENTALLY ON ROBERT WATT AND HENRY G. BOHN

By GEORGE WATSON COLE, L.H.D.
HONORARY MEMBER OF THE BIBLIOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY (OF LONDON)

THIS paper is a bibliographical essay, not a bibliography or a catalogue. It relates particularly to two prominent bibliographers of English literature of the last century: Robert Watt (1774–1819), the author of the *Bibliotheca Britannica*; but, more especially, to William Thomas Lowndes (1798?–1843), the author of *The Bibliographer's Manual.*

Realizing that the term bibliography is not as precisely understood by the public as it should be, we may be pardoned if we attempt to explain it and its aims. Bibliography is the magic key that unlocks all depositories of knowledge and reveals their hidden treasures.

The purpose of bibliography is to record *all*, as far as known, of the literary sources of knowledge. Strictly speaking, a bibliography differs from a catalogue. A catalogue is a list of books

EDITOR'S NOTE. This essay was originally written as the introduction to a more extensive study completed shortly before Dr. Cole's final illness. The Publication Committee, in consultation with Mrs. Cole, decided to publish the introduction, which is complete in itself, leaving the main text in manuscript. The entire work may be consulted, together with Dr. Cole's other papers, at the American Antiquarian Society.

belonging to a specific collection; a bibliography, a record of all books or literary material known to its compiler to exist on any particular subject. Books listed in a catalogue are all to be found in one place; those in a bibliography may be scattered far and wide. It is conceivable that, of a bibliography containing but a limited number of titles, no two copies may be found in the same place. Such, in brief, is the difference between a bibliography and a catalogue. The former is universal; the latter, local and limited. It should not be forgotten, however, that some special collections contain so many works on a given subject that a catalogue of them is virtually a bibliography.

Every large library has what is known as a Reference Department to which its patrons resort for information such as may be found in encyclopaedias and other books of reference. Such a department should be supplied with as many reference books as its resources will permit, if it is to be most serviceable to its patrons and able to answer the numerous questions of a general or local character that are likely to arise.

A bibliography seeks to record *all* books relating to the field it attempts to cover. It is presumed to answer the needs of the *scholar* whose aim is to ascertain all that has been written or printed concerning the subject of his studies. Its purpose, then, is primarily to supply the requirements of the specialist who is seeking to delve to its very foundation. The various topics upon which bibliographies may be compiled are so extensive that it is impossible to deal exhaustively with them here.

Everyone is presumably interested in the literature of his native language; we can therefore do no better than to confine our remarks to the bibliography of English literature. Many writers have from time to time been interested in various phases of it. At a very early day there were lovers of English literature who made strenuous efforts to collect and preserve its books and make a record of them. As early as 1536, when the smaller English monasteries were being suppressed, there were scholars who

looked with great solicitude upon the impending destruction of their libraries and strove, as far as they were able, to rescue their precious volumes. John Bale (1495–1563), Bishop of Ossory, an ancient kingdom of Ireland, during the fourteenth century, compiled the first chronological list of British authors and their works. His work was printed in 1548, and again the following year. It is entitled *Illustrivm Maioris Britanniae Scriptrvm . . . Summariū, in qua dam centurias diui m.* This is his most important work. It is a valuable catalogue of the writings of the early authors of Great Britain.

But few writers later attempted to treat the subject as exhaustively as did Bale, finding it too comprehensive. Not until nearly a hundred years after him did Anthony à Wood (1632–1695), in 1691–1692, bring out his *Athenæ Oxonienses* — a work restricted to the biography and writings of Oxford graduates. A second but unreliable edition, by Bishop Thomas Tanner (1674–1735), was published in 1721; while a third in four volumes, edited by Philip Bliss (1787–1857), appeared from 1813–1820. To this Bliss added much new material and his edition consequently superseded both of the former ones.

Joseph Ames (1689–1759), a bibliographer and antiquary, was the next writer to take up the subject. He devoted his efforts to compiling a history of printing in England from its origin to 1600. His *Typographical Antiquities*, appeared in 1749. A second edition, in three volumes, edited by William Herbert (1718–1795), was published from 1785–1790. Then, Thomas Frognall Dibdin (1776–1847), "a most entertaining but thoroughly unreliable author, who did good work in popularizing the taste for rare books," in 1810 undertook to bring out a third edition; but, for lack of support, the enterprise failed and its publication was dropped after the appearance of the fourth volume in 1819.

David Erskine Baker (1730–1767), whose mother was the youngest daughter of Daniel Defoe, confined his study to the

English drama. His *Companion to the Play-House*, in two duodecimo volumes, appeared in 1764.

Isaac Reed (1742–1807), the Shakespearian editor, nearly a score of years later (1782) took up Baker's work and published a second edition in two volumes, which he entitled *Biographia Dramatica.* A third edition, with considerable new matter, by Stephen Jones (1763–1827) in three volumes (usually bound in four), was brought out in 1812. This edition, still the best, supplanted the former ones which are now of but little value.

Joseph Ritson (1752–1803), an eccentric and spiteful critic, confined his labors to English verse. His *Bibliographica Poetica* appeared in 1802. Acton Frederick Griffith attained distinction for his work, *Bibliotheca Anglo-Poetica*, which appeared in 1815. This is a catalogue of an exceptionally fine collection of English poetry made by Thomas Hill (1760–1840), who had purchased the large poetical library of Thomas Park (1759–1834), the well-known historian of English poetry. The Messrs. Longman engaged Griffith to catalogue the library and he did his work so well that it is now considered an almost historical catalogue of early English poetry.

William Carew Hazlitt (1834–1913), in his *Book-Collector* (p. 268), narrates that when Hill offered his collections to the Longmans, on the plea of failing health, they, looking at him prophetically in his apparently moribund condition, decided to offer him an annuity instead of a good round sum. This he accepted. His apprehensions, however, proved premature as the transaction had the effect of restoring his spirits to such an extent that he continued to live for many years after. The Longmans must have been highly pleased (!) to see him come in year after year to claim his annuity.

To Sir Samuel Egerton Brydges, Bart. (1762–1837) we owe three important works: *Censura Literaria* (1805–1809), a second edition in 1815 in ten volumes; *The British Bibliographer*, four volumes, in 1810–1814; and *Restituta*, four volumes,

1814–1816. These works, devoted to rare Elizabethan literature, are valuable chiefly for the numerous extracts and criticisms they contain.

All the foregoing writers limited their labors to some special field of English literature. After Bale no one until Robert Watt (1774–1819) undertook to compile a work embracing its entire domain. Watt was of Scotch origin, born of humble parents on a farm in the parish of Stewarton, Ayrshire. He early exhibited an insatiable desire for reading. Preparing himself by the study of Greek and Latin, under a private tutor, he entered Glasgow University in 1793. From 1796 to 1797 he studied anatomy and divinity at Edinburgh and in 1799 began the practice of medicine in Paisley. Not long after that he began to write on medical subjects. His success was such that in 1807 he became a member of the Glasgow Faculty and eventually president of the Faculty of Physicians and Surgeons of that city. He received the degree of M.D. from King's College, Aberdeen, in 1810, and practiced his profession in Glasgow where he delivered lectures on medicine.

He formed a well-chosen library of medical books, described in a *Catalogue of Medical Books, for the Use of Students*; Glasgow, 1812. This catalogue, now extremely rare, was the starting point of his famous work, *Bibliotheca Britannica*, the plan for which had been developing in his mind from the time he matriculated in 1793.

Attention is here called to his work and that of his immediate successor, William Thomas Lowndes, the author of *The Bibliographer's Manual*, because their methods differed widely as we shall presently see. Lowndes had the highest regard for Watt's "monument of human industry," as he termed the *Bibliotheca Britannica*, but he had quite different views concerning what a bibliography should contain. In order to contrast the works of these two outstanding bibliographers of English literature, we may be permitted to note here the differences to be found in their respective works.

As Watt progressed with the compilation of his *Bibliotheca Britannica*, he found himself unable to restrict his work entirely to English authors, and included a select list of foreign publications, thus giving his work a cosmopolitan character. Not content with confining himself to the works of individual writers, he also included periodicals and the transactions of societies.

His work is divided into two parts. Part I is devoted to authors (upwards of forty thousand in number) and the various editions of their works. These he arranged in chronological order. This arrangement, though perfectly logical, is inconvenient, as it presupposes a knowledge of the order in which an author's works appeared, if they are to be easily found. Should a person looking for a particular book lack this information, he is compelled to begin at the first entry and advance step by step until he arrives at the title sought. Another interesting feature introduced by Watt is a short biographical notice, followed by the dates of the author's birth and death. Part I, therefore, as Watt says in his preface, "Thus serves, in some manner, as a concise but comprehensive biographical dictionary, containing not only all the literary names to be found in other dictionaries of that kind, but many thousands more derived from other sources." Authors' names are given at full length, together with the titles of the various editions of their works, translations into English and foreign languages, sizes, prices, etc. Under the names of printers are included not only those who printed in England, but also eminent foreigners. So that, as he says, "The Bibliotheca Britannica may be considered as an universal catalogue of all the authors with which this country is acquainted, whether of its own or of the continent."

Part II of the *Bibliotheca Britannica* is devoted to subjects, and this part also has unusual features. Under each subject-heading the entries, as in Part I, are arranged in chronological order, thereby forming its Annals. This is a valuable characteristic as it

enables a student to follow the historical development of a subject and to select "the last word" upon any part of it in which he is particularly interested. To entries under places are appended the names of such eminent literary characters as happened to be born in them. It will thus be seen that Watt not only performed the functions of a bibliographer, but also those of a biographer and annalist.

Fully absorbed in his work, in 1817 he abandoned his medical practice and moved to a country house at Crossmyloof, a village two miles from Glasgow (but now a part of that city) in order to devote his entire time and attention to the printing of his *Bibliotheca Britannica*, on which he had already spent some twenty years of his life. His intense application to it so impaired his health that for the last two years of his life he was practically a bedridden invalid. He died March 12, 1819, in the forty-fifth year of his life, a martyr to bibliography, if ever there was one, for he spent nearly half of his life on this work, which during the time had been copied entirely three times and portions of it as many as seven.

Misfortune continued cruelly to hound the work. Only a few sheets of it had been printed when Watt died. Printing proceeded under the supervision of his eldest son, John, who died in 1821, leaving five of its eleven parts still unprinted. His brother James then took up its printing, which he finally completed three years later, in 1824.

The work was originally published in eleven parts. The first part was advertised on December 1, 1818 as ready to be issued in February, 1819. My friend Leonard L. Mackall informed me (letter of March 11, 1935) that during 1902–1904 there was a copy in the original board-wrappers, unbound, in the English Seminar of the University of Berlin. Dr. phil. Wolfgang Mann, assistant there, under date of April 3, 1935, wrote me that unfortunately this copy, since it was seen by Mr. Mackall, has been bound in six volumes and the original board-covers discarded.

Not being content to abandon my search for a copy as originally issued and also to locate a copy of Lowndes' *Bibliographer's Manual* as originally issued in parts, I addressed a letter to the editor of *The Book-Collectors' Quarterly*. Much to my astonishment, in response to my appeal, I discovered that there is a copy of Watt's work in the original parts in the Library of the Claremont Colleges, at Claremont, California, only twenty-five miles from Pasadena. I immediately went to see it. It proved to be a copy purchased some four years ago by the librarian, Mr. Willis Holmes Kerr, a keen bibliophile, who having an opportunity to purchase either a copy bound in the usual four volumes, or one in the original parts, chose the latter.

The Seminar copy referred to above, contains the following items not to be found in copies later published in four volumes. In volume 1 is a note to subscribers, dated Glasgow, April 14, 1819; and a "Specimen," of eight pages, "of the Second Part." The regular title-pages have been bound in the first four volumes. Volumes 5 and 6 contain none. The list of subscribers calls for a little over five hundred copies. Among them were thirty-one booksellers who subscribed for from two to nineteen copies each.

Archibald Constable and Company, Sir Walter Scott's printers, had agreed to publish the *Bibliotheca Britannica* and pay Mrs. Watt £2,000 for the right to do so. Bills to that amount were sent to her but before she could convert them into cash the Constables had failed and involved not only the Watts but many others in their ruin.

To add to the widow's misfortunes, not many months after her husband's death her home was entered by a band of robbers and stripped of everything of value. Reduced to poverty, she was only enabled by teaching and a pension of £45 per annum to stave off starvation. All of her nine children, except one — a daughter — died before her. After the mother's death, this daughter, the last surviving member of the family, suffered

such hardships that her mind gave way and she was removed to an asylum in Glasgow where, as a pauper-lunatic, she died in 1864.

After her death the original manuscript-slips of the work were discovered in two large sacks. They were purchased by Sir Peter Coats, arranged by him in sixty-nine volumes (of which fifteen are an index) and are now carefully preserved in the Free Public Library at Paisley. Such is the tragic history of this notable work.

No one better than William Thomas Lowndes knew and appreciated the value of Watt's work, of which he generously says in his preface (p. vii) that "no praise can be too high."

Of the details of Lowndes' early life, unfortunately, little is known. Even the date of his birth is conjectural and no portrait of him is known to exist. He was the son of William Lowndes, a well-known London bookseller in the Strand. His grandfather, Thomas Lowndes (1719–1784), also a bookseller, was supposed to have been delineated by Miss Burney, under the name of Briggs, in her celebrated novel *Cecilia.*

Brought up from boyhood as a practical bookseller, Lowndes was, as a matter of course, acquainted with many book collectors and their hobbies. He was also conversant with sales catalogues and the other tools of his trade. Determined to compile a bibliography of English literature upon a new plan, he was particular in selecting the sources upon which to base it.

Knowing that the value of bibliography is not generally appreciated, he early emphasized its importance in his preface (p. vi) by quoting a remark previously made by Dr. Samuel Johnson, who observed with his usual elegance and propriety that "By the means of Catalogues only can be known what has been written on every part of learning, and the hazard avoided of encountering difficulties which have already been cleared, discussing questions which have already been decided, and digging in mines of literature which former ages have exhausted." Lown-

des then goes on to state what he considers to be the essentials of a perfect bibliography.

> A bare catalogue [says he] though the most laborious, is the humblest part of a Bibliographer's duty. Mere industry may enable him to copy titles, names, and dates; but to classify and arrange works into the several divisions and subdivisions, which a student requires—to describe the merits of each work and the peculiarity of each edition—to distinguish the true from the spurious edition—and to give such a collation of works which do not either by signatures, pagination, or otherwise, present the means of ascertaining whether it be complete or imperfect—to trace rare works from library to library, in order that those who wish to consult them may know where they are deposited—and to give the different prices at which books at various times have been sold, that an idea may be formed of their value—require a combination of talent, research, and industry, which entitle the labours of a Bibliographer to much more respect than has hitherto been conceded to them.

In planning his work Lowndes appears first to have very carefully considered the class of books that should be represented. The preliminary work, therefore, consisted in compiling such a list. Naturally he went first to large public collections, such as the British Museum, the Bodleian Library, and others, rich in rare books, the accumulations of many, many years. This is shown by the notes in the *Manual*, in which he often credits such institutions with the possession of copies. Many private owners, recognizing the importance of the work upon which he was engaged, permitted him to make use of their collections. Among those to whom he acknowledged this courtesy, and to whom he dedicated the *Manual*, was the Honourable Thomas Grenville, whose library was bequeathed to the British Musem upon his death in 1846. He also received a like courtesy from Richard Heber (1773–1833), the greatest bibliophile and book collector of his day. He pays tribute also to Philip Augustus Hanrott for access to his "large, curious, and extensive library." Hanrott was a discriminating collector and a man of no mean learning; but, of him as of many other early book collectors, little is definitely known. His large library, sold in 1833–1834 for £22,400, we are told by Seymour de Ricci (*English Collectors*,

101), "contined many books printed on vellum, a large number of manuscripts, fine incunabula, books on large paper or printed on vellum." The shelves of contemporary booksellers, such as those of Payne and Foss, Cochran, and Pickering (as in the case of William Carew Hazlitt of a later generation), were also laid under contribution for titles. These were among a few of the various sources from which Lowndes gleaned the titles as well as collations of the rare items which found their way into his *Bibliographer's Manual.*

But he was not content to stop there. Watt had already done as much. Lowndes, as he says in his preface, wanted to impart further information. He wished to say something regarding the circumstances under which a book was published or printed, its contents, the edition (especially if limited), its rarity, and whether the author had published it anonymously, under his own name, or that of a pseudonym. Much of this information he could obtain by examining the books themselves but for other features he had to look elsewhere.

Another point on which he desired to impart information, especially in the case of very rare works, the originals of which could not easily be consulted, was the reprints that had been made of them. To ascertain these facts, he consulted and referred to such works as the Somers Tracts, the Harleian Miscellany, Collections of Voyages and Travels, such as those of Pinkerton, Churchill, and similar collections.

Nor was he content to merely give the titles of books; he desired also to state in what esteem they were held by reviewers and writers of established credit and ability. For such estimates he constantly refers to the *Retrospective Review*, the *Quarterly Review*, and other literary periodicals; as well as to Brydges' *British Bibliographer*, *Censura Literaria*, *Restituta*, and works of a similar character.

Information regarding the prices of books is of the utmost importance to booksellers in purchasing their stock and affixing

prices to their wares, and also to book collectors for information concerning the current values of books, old or new. Lowndes determined that this feature should also form an important part of his *Manual*.

As times passes, however, the prices at which books have previously sold become a mere matter of bibliographical history. The book collector of the present day no longer consults Lowndes for such information, except as a matter of comparison or curiosity, but goes to the English *Book-Prices Current* or the *American Book-Prices Current* of recent date. Even these, as years go by, are bound to be considered of little consequence except as they show for what important books have sold from time to time.

Lowndes coming, as he did, from a bookselling family, was vitally interested in this aspect of bibliography and doubtless owed much of the information he gives not only to the priced catalogues in his own possession but to the generosity of book auctioneers such as R. H. Evans, and the Messrs. Sotheby, who gave him access to their records of the numerous sales of important libraries that had passed through their hands. From these he must also have gleaned many other interesting and valuable bits of information which found their way into the *Manual*.

A careful inspection of Lowndes' *Manual* and of his later work, *The British Librarian*, cannot fail to impress one not only with his extensive knowledge of books but also with the thoroughness with which he performed his task. No source of information was too slight to be neglected. It would seem that everything relating to books of English literature was consulted and nothing, however unimportant, overlooked.

The *Bibliographer's Manual* includes all fields of English literature, except that of theology, a subject which its author reserved for his later work, *The British Librarian*. The *Manual* was therefore designed to include the best authors and the best

editions of English literature. The merits of many of the works included are concisely given, occasionally from reviews, but more generally from writers of established reputation. To these features were also added forms of publication, contents, rarity, and reprints. Collations of the rarer works are given with great precision in order that anyone may determine whether or not a given copy is complete. In fact it was Lowndes' purpose to supply all the various kinds of information necessary for the complete identification of every rare volume he recorded and of such variations as existed between it, as originally published, and later editions and issues. As the *Manual* did not appear until a decade after Watt's *Bibliotheca Britannica*, the information it contains is naturally brought down to a later date.

The work, projected by Lowndes on such broad lines, grew on his hands — as whose does not? — and instead of completing it with a description of some twenty thousand works as he at first started out to do, it extended to "upwards of *fifty thousand* distinct books, all published in, or relating to, Great Britain and Ireland, from the invention of printing" to 1834, the date when he completed this masterpiece.

Meantime, in 1831, Lowndes issued a little pamphlet of sixteen leaves, entitled *Shakespeare and His Commentators*. This was a reprint of that portion of the *Manual* (pp. 1644–1667) describing the works of Shakespeare and those relating to him. It had a title-page and frontispiece, the latter an excellent portrait of Shakespeare. Only fifty-two copies were printed. This pamphlet was evidently intended for presentation only and not for sale, as all copies we have been able to trace have presentation inscriptions in Lowndes' handwriting. It was designed no doubt to be given to his friends in order that they might see and judge for themselves of the character and importance of the work upon which he was engaged.

After spending fourteen years of labor in its preparation, during which the work appeared in parts from 1828 onward, the

first edition of the entire work was published by William Pickering in 1834, in four octavo volumes, fifty copies of which were printed on large paper. It is but natural to suppose that a work dealing for the first time in a thorough and systematic way and in so comprehensive a manner with the entire substance of English literature would have been received with a cordial welcome. Unfortunately, it brought its compiler neither adequate remuneration nor immediate reputation.

No sooner had Lowndes seen the *Bibliographer's Manual* off the press than he went to work to produce a more ambitious work, *The British Librarian.* This,

> a long acknowledged desideratum in our literature, will contain [says he on the recto of the back wrapper of Part I] a catalogue of about twenty thousand of the *best works of the best authors*, in every branch of knowledge [and in various languages], arranged in the departments of—
>
> 1, Religion and Its History. 4, Sciences and Arts.
> 2, Ethics and Morals. 5, History and Antiquities.
> 3, Legislation and Politics. 6, Miscellaneous Literature.
>
> These departments [he proceeds to say] will be divided and subdivided into a variety of classes of easy reference, so that each particular subject will be preserved distinct and entire. An Addenda and a copious Index will close the volume.

Prices, notes, criticisms, and references were to be added much the same as in the *Manual.*

This work he entitled *Lowndes' British Librarian, or Book-Collector's Guide to the Formation of a Library in All Branches of Literature, Science and Art.*

The first section: Class I — Religion and Its History, was designed to supplement the defective treatment of theology in the *Manual.* It was to have been completed in twelve parts. On the first page of the back wrappers of Part VI and VII, Lowndes gave a minute classification of this class. This includes "VI. Appendix to the Preceding Divisions," and "VII. Index of Authors and Subjects."

Owing to mental derangement brought on by ill health and

pecuniary embarrassment, he did not live to complete even this first class. All copies of *The British Librarian* we have seen or about which we can gain any information contain variously from 1192 to 1416 columns. *The British Librarian* comprises much valuable matter made available to some extent by the list of Contents (indexed under numerous headings) by Thomas Rodd.

By 1857 the *Bibliographer's Manual* had become so extremely scarce that it was then selling at auction for upwards of £7 and with a prospect that even that figure would be surpassed. It was then that Henry George Bohn (1796–1884), an exceedingly enterprising bookseller and publisher, purchased the copyright from the executors of William Pickering, its original publisher. Bohn was the son of Henry Martin Bohn, a London bookseller and publisher. As his father declined to take him into partnership, in 1831 he went into business on his own account. Ten years later (1841) he published the "Guinea Catalogue," containing 1,948 pages and 23,208 articles, with a list of "remainders" occupying 152 pages. This at once made him famous. Soon after he abandoned the second-hand book business and took up the "remainder" trade, and for a time made it his chief occupation.

In 1846 he discovered that the cheap issue of solid and instructive books was far more lucrative. With this idea in mind, he started his "Standard" Library, February 1, 1846. Its success was such that he followed it with other "Libraries": the "Scientific" and the "Antiquarian" in 1847, the "Classical" in 1848, the "Illustrated" in 1849, the "Shilling Series" in 1850, the "Ecclesiastical" in 1851, the "Philological" in 1852, and the "British Classics" in 1853. The entire series of these "Libraries" ultimately numbered over 750 volumes. The "Everyman's Library" of the present day is a later and very successful undertaking carrying out the same idea.

Bohn early displayed exceptional shrewdness in business, combined with an extraordinary energy and capacity for work.

He personally superintended every department of his business, took a large share in compiling and editing his publications, and his knowledge of foreign languages was such that it enabled him to translate several of his series of "Foreign Classics."

In addition to his various activities in printing, publishing, and writing books, about 1850 he acquired a fine residence in Twickenham which he proceeded to beautify with rare and valuable shrubs. Here he became noted for his annual entertainments at which his remarkably fine collections of roses were exhibited.

Early in life he became interested in works of art and for half a century was a frequenter of salesrooms, collecting china, ivories and other *objets d'art* to such an extent that at length his collections exceeded the capacity of his home. In consequence, between 1875 and 1878 he disposed of many of them at several sales from which he realized nearly £25,000. These sales, followed after his death by that of his pictures and library which his executor sold in 1885, brought the total amount realized to £44,637. We here see Bohn surrounded by all the superfluities that great wealth and his luxurious tastes could suggest while poor Lowndes, hampered by Bohn's neglect, in want and disease was hopelessly struggling to realize the cherished ambition of his life.

Bohn lived to an advanced age, dying in his eighty-ninth year. Until the last he exhibited remarkable vigor of mind, so that he was able to revise proofs down to a day or two before his death which took place on August 22, 1884.

But to revert to Lowndes. He passed the last years of his life in the service of Bohn as a cataloguer. His long career of bibliographical drudgery had reduced him to such a condition in both body and mind that he was a mere wreck of his former self. Reduced to abject poverty and suffering from a complete mental collapse, after years of unwearied exertion, he died in distress July 31, 1843, leaving a widow and two children.

The *Gentleman's Magazine* of September, 1843, in announcing his death paid tribute to him in the following terms:

> As a bibliographer, his name stands eminent for his well-known and useful work, "The Bibliographer's Manual"; and, under distressing disadvantages, he was compiling another publication called "The British Librarian," twelve parts of which were completed, when his mental powers gave way, under the peculiar difficulties under which he laboured, and his body shortly after showed symptoms of approaching decay, which terminated in death after a period of nine months.
>
> Mr. Lowndes has left behind him a widow and two children, who are now entirely destitute. We understand that several gentlemen among whom are the Reverend Peter Hall, M.A. [1802–1849] and several respectable persons connected with the bookselling business, are endeavoring to obtain subscriptions to enable the widow to enter upon some means of supporting herself and the children.

There can be but little doubt that the rapacious and cold-hearted treatment of Bohn, by whom Lowndes was employed during his last days, reduced him to such a state pecuniarily and mentally that his mind broke under the strain and that his suffering at last ended in death. Bohn's unfeeling treatment of Lowndes no doubt hastened if it was not the actual cause of his death. But for Bohn's unsympathetic treatment Lowndes' career would doubtless have ended far otherwise and as much to Bohn's credit as to that of Lowndes himself. Poor downtrodden, laboring Lowndes! Poorer still, in spirit, the parsimonious Bohn!

Captain William Jaggard narrates an incident which illustrates Bohn's extreme penuriousness. "Bohn," says he (in a personal letter), "lived over on the Surrey side of the Thames; and in order that he should not pay his daily cabman a single penny over the legal fare, he paid a surveyor to measure the exact distance to his office. He left a fortune of nearly £100,000 but I judge he killed Lowndes by his cruelty."

A man may hold a coin so near his eye that he can see nothing beyond it. It is evident that Bohn held the penny so close to *his* eye that he could see nothing that did not materially aid in building up his fortune. Had he been more liberal minded and

aided Lowndes to carry out his latest ambition — the completion of *The British Librarian* — he would have merited the approbation of mankind instead of its reprobation as now.

Bohn at first intended to confine his new edition of the *Bibliographer's Manual* to a verbatim reprint, making only such corrections and additions in it as, during a long experience as a bookseller, he had already inserted in his own office copy. This new edition, printed from stereotyped plates, he says (if we must credit him) he undertook "more as a boon to his confrères and literary men, than as an object of mercantile profit." He proposed "to make a manual practically useful to book-buyers of every class, especially the literary student." Finding much to correct, as the work progressed he changed his plan and proceeded "to amend and improve it, by adding manifest deficiencies, and completing the accounts of such works as were in progress when Lowndes wrote."

Pursuing this course he issued a "New Edition, Revised, Corrected and Enlarged," in ten parts from 1857–1864. To each of these he prefixed notices or advertisements detailing the progress of the work; the first is dated November 28, 1857, the last March 15, 1864. Books published after Lowndes wrote were reserved for a supplementary volume of modern literature; but owing, as he says, to his advancing age (he was then sixty-eight years old and had yet twenty-one years to live) and his hesitance to "encounter any severe labour *doubtfully remunerative*" (note the expression — the italics are ours), this volume never appeared. He did, however, issue an *Appendix*, the prefatory note to which is dated November 25, 1864. In this work of 328 pages, 41 pages, or one eighth of the whole, is devoted to giving the titles of the volumes in his various Libraries. All of these had previously appeared, and his name as publisher, in their regular alphabetical order in his edition of the *Bibliographer's Manual*. That work and the Index are therefore, as John Power remarks in his *Handy-Book about Books* (p. 13), "a good guide to

Mr. Bohn's various reprints and Libraries." His *flair* for publicity had not deserted him.

After forty years of successful business Bohn decided, in 1864, to retire and thereupon sold the entire stock of his various "Libraries," comprising nearly half a million copies, together with his copyrights and stereotype plates to Bell and Daldy for about £40,000.

Bohn's success was due to his innate shrewdness and a business sagacity of a very exceptional kind. This was exhibited to a marked degree in the choice of the volumes he published in his "Libraries"; and, in the attractive form in which they were printed and bound. They were of uniform size (foolscap octavo), printed on good paper, in readable type, and issued in stamped or embossed cloth bindings with his name prominently displayed on sides and back. No publisher ever made greater use of publicity. Every volume published by or for him was bound in a distinctive binding, even its paste-downs and fly-leaves containing complete catalogues of his publications, which, from year to year, he carefully kept up to date.

But the enterprising Bohn did not stop here. As he had had the *Manual* stereotyped he made frequent use of the plates. In 1863 he prepared a *Biography and Bibliography of Shakespeare*, to which he appended "A Bibliographical Account of the Works of Shakespeare, including," as he says, "Every Known Edition, Translation, and Commentary." This is a reprint from his enlarged edition of the *Manual* (pp. 2252–2366), with "Some Additions." These "additions," of little importance, consist of only two pages giving a list of the Early Quarto Plays "(1) in the Library of the Marquis of Bute, formerly at Luton," and (2) of those "in the choice cabinet of Mr. [James] Lenox of New York, as communicated by Mr. Henry Stevens." This volume, containing fourteen plates, representing nineteen different subjects, formed Number 11 of the Miscellanies of the Philobiblon Society, a society restricted to forty members, of

which Bohn, who gave his residence as "North End House, Twickenham," was one.

The edition was limited to forty copies " 'for presentation to persons of wealth and rank.' Apparently intellect did not count," says Jaggard (*Shakespeare Bibliography*, 27). The copy herein described, in the present writer's library, has an autograph inscription to *The Right Honorable The Countefse of Waldegrave presented by Henry G. Bohn.* It is dated "Jan^{y} 18th 1865," and bears the armorial book-plate of "William Frederick, 9th Earl of Waldegrave."

In 1863, or more likely in 1862, Bohn privately printed, in foolscap octavo, on hand-made paper, and in uniform binding with the above, *A Bibliographical Account of the Works of Shakespeare*, [etc.]. This issue, according to Jaggard (p. 27), was restricted to twenty-five copies, "some of which," he says, "are dated 1863." "So far from 'including every known edition,' " he proceeds to say in his exhaustive *Shakespeare Bibliography* (1911), "its omissions may be numbered by thousands. Yet, despite this drawback and its chaotic arrangement, it remained the best available list for nearly half a century."

By 1869, or thereabouts, copies of Bohn's early edition (1857–1864) had become scarce. Thereupon Bell and Daldy, to whom the copyright and plates had passed by purchase in 1864, brought out a new edition, in six volumes, on large paper (demy octavo), bound in Roxburghe style. The edition is said by Sabin (*Bibliography of Bibliography*, 1877, p. xcvi.) to have been limited to 250 copies. Of these 150 appear to have been retained for the home market. The imprint of these reads: | London: Bell and Daldy, York Street, Covent Garden. | 1869. | ; and their half-titles: | The Bibliographer's Manaul | of | English Literature. | Vol. I. |, etc. Of the remaining 100 copies, evidently designed for the American market, the imprint reads: | London: | Bell & Daldy, York Street, Covent Garden; | New York; Scribner, Welford & Co. | 1869. On *their* half-titles are the words

"One Hundred Copies for Subscribers Only," printed between two concentric circles, with "No." written, or stamped, within the inner one.

Bell and Daldy and their successors, George Bell and Sons, after purchasing Bohn's edition of Lowndes' *Bibliographer's Manual* in 1864, repeatedly placed the stereotyped plates on the press. This they began doing on the very next year after their purchase and this was done either to issue new sets or to fill gaps in their stock whenever it ran short. This is shown by the fact that I have a six-volume set, uniformly bound, consisting of four volumes of the Bohn edition (volumes 1–3, 6) dated 1864, and two volumes (4, 5) with the Bell and Daldy imprint dated 1865. The plates were continuously used until they became so worn in places as to become quite illegible and consequently valueless for further use, when, in 1916, they were melted up. So for half a century (from 1864–1914) the stereotyped plates were repeatedly placed on the press to meet an incessant demand for copies. It is safe to say that no bibliography of any other European nation can boast of such a record.

Some years the entire work was placed on the press, while in others only such portions were printed as were required to complete the copies on hand. As a result there are many sets containing differing dates. This is seen by the records of sales given in both the English and American *Book-Prices Current.*

The report of Colonel Arthur Hugh Bell (*b.* 1878), director of George Bell & Sons, Ltd., shows how separate parts were repeatedly printed from 1888 to 1914, until the plates reached such a disreputable and illegible condition as to be of no further use and were finally melted, as above stated.

If the number of sets and separate volumes of Lowndes' *Bibliographer's Manual* in existence is any criterion, it can safely be stated that it proved to be the most popular bibliography ever published.

A new edition, bringing information down to more recent

times was proposed by Mr. J. H. Isaacs in a paper read before the English Bibliographical Society, December 18, 1893 (*Transactions*, 2: 1–4). His scheme, as proposed, was considered too large for the Society to undertake with any hope of carrying it through and the matter was dropped.

Three years later, in 1896, Frederick Marchmont brought out *A Concise Handbook of Ancient and Modern Literature, Issued either Anonymously, under Pseudonyms, or Initials [with an Index to Titles]*. This work designed as "a supplementary volume to Lowndes' *Bibliographer's Manual*," contains works "of which no notice can be found in either Lowndes or Allibone."

After a lapse of some sixty years the information contained in Lowndes having become "desperately antiquated," Mr. Seymour de Ricci (*b.* 1881), the renowned Parisian bibliographer, in 1921, issued *The Book Collector's Guide*, in which he included "two or three thousand British and American books which fashion has decided are the most desirable for the up to date collector."

Lowndes' *Bibliographer's Manual* was and still remains a monumental work for which there is no substitute. It furnished the book-buyer of his time and ever since with a reliable key to the riches of English literature; and though many works have since given later and fuller information, it still retains an important place on the shelves of every student of English literature.

GEORGE WATSON COLE, L.H.D., distinguished bibliographer and librarian, was born at Warren, Connecticut, on September 6, 1850, son of Munson and Antoinette Fidelia (Taylor) Cole. He was educated at Phillips (Andover) Academy; studied law, being admitted to the bar in 1876, and practiced that profession until 1885. He entered the first class of the library school of Columbia College, which was the first school of its kind anywhere, from which he graduated in 1888. Perhaps the only survivor of that first class is Dr. Henry Watson Kent, Secretary of the Metro-

politan Museum of Art. Dr. Cole married, first, Martha A. Thrall of Guilford, Connecticut, second, Louise Elvira Warner of New Haven, Connecticut and third, Mrs. Laura (Ward) Roys of Lyons, New York, who died at their Pasadena home, December 3, 1939, at the age of 92.

Dr. Cole began library work as cataloguer at the Fitchburg, Massachusetts Public Library, 1885–1886; then, for a year, he was librarian of Pratt Institute, Brooklyn, New York, and went from there, as an assistant, to the Newberry Library, Chicago, 1888–1890, and from 1891–1895 he was librarian of the Free Public Library of Jersey City, New Jersey, where he produced two volumes of a catalogue that received high professional praise. He then dropped librarianship to engage in bibliographical research and travel. He had been treasurer of the American Library Association from 1893, and resigned in 1896. From this period he began to produce a long line of bibliographical studies of great credit to himself and useful to a variety of specialists. His printed productions — articles, pamphlets and volumes, fill a list of more than one hundred entries on twenty-eight pages of *A List of the printed productions of George Watson Cole 1870–1936* (Boston, 1936).

In the use of shorthand Dr. Cole was expert, and in his early years he had written about it. This competency was of great use to him in his productive work, in recording data and in capturing his own thoughts. He wrote clearly and with sustained interest, even upon the driest of subjects, and he had a rich sense of humor. Even as an octogenarian he never lost that sense. He enjoyed such syndicated newspaper strips as "Mr. and Mrs." His eyes would laugh and his face beam in joyfulness when he told a funny story or sprang a joke or side remark upon a friend. When he laughed out his head and shoulders shook. But he was always of the noblest type of a New England gentleman. He was handsome and dignified in appearance. His presence anywhere attracted attention. Those who knew him best loved him most. It was the writer's good fortune to have him as a house guest during his last visit to New York in the summer of 1937. On Independence Day he and the late Dr. Wilberforce Eames spent the afternoon together at my home. We had in earlier years lunched together almost daily; but this day was a reunion — and "the last round-up." Three days later Dr. Cole travelled alone to California and Dr. Eames, then already fatally ill, died five months later. News of the latter's death reached Dr. Cole at home, and so affected him that he suffered a stroke. That was the start of his decline and, though he rallied now and then, successive strokes robbed him of strength and faculties. He passed

away peacefully at his home in Pasadena, California, at one o'clock on the morning of October 10, 1939.

In 1920 Dr. Cole was given by Trinity College the honorary degree of L.H.D. He was an honorary or life member of numerous learned societies, and held regular membership in many more of them. He was elected a member of the American Antiquarian Society in October, 1918, and showed his interest in the Society by presenting to it his extensive Bermuda collection, his correspondence, memoranda, notes, and other papers. His fine bibliographical library he gave during life to Yale University. His largest and most outstanding work was the two series of annotated catalogues of the library of E. Dwight Church, one of *Books relative to the Discovery and Early History of North and South America*, in five volumes (2,365 pp.), published in 1907; and the other of *Books of English Literature and Miscellanea*, in two volumes (1,154 pp.), published in 1909. These are considered to be among the best analytical descriptions of books made either in America or Europe. Dr. Cole became librarian of the Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery on October 1, 1915, serving until October 1, 1924, and then, till his death, he was librarian emeritus. He organized a staff and laid down the principles and methodology for cataloguing and administering it. The principles that had produced the Church Catalogue were followed and expanded on the vast accessions of separate libraries, besides that of Church, which Mr. Huntington had acquired and continued to purchase. This work fixed his fields of interest; but before compiling the Church Catalogue he had become interested in Bermuda and his volume on *Bermuda in Periodical Literature; with Occasional Reference to Other Works, A Bibliography* (Boston, 1907), was characterized by a reviewer in the weekly *Science* as "a masterpiece of bibliography," that would "earn the hearty thanks of every botanist and zoologist."

Dr. Cole was president of the New York Library Club in 1893–1894 and 1909–1910; and of the Bibliographical Society of America from 1919–1921, having accomplished in that period a great work for the latter society in promoting the true science of bibliography and in raising funds with which to finance the first *Census of Fifteenth Century Books owned in America* (1919). He was also the sole delegate of that society at the World's Congress in Rome, June 19, 1929, at which he was also a delegate of the American Library Association.

VICTOR HUGO PALTSITS

WILLIAM HUBBARD'S "NARRATIVE," 1677*

A Bibliographical Study

By RANDOLPH G. ADAMS

IT was General Phil Sheridan who remarked "The only good Indians I ever saw were dead." Yet, since 1869 when the General is recorded as having expressed that sentiment, there has been something of a change of heart on the subject of the poor Indian. The more we read about them, the more wistful sympathy we feel for Pontiac, Tecumseh, Sitting Bull, and Philip of Pokanoket. Not the least of these was "King Philip"—yet most of what we know of him is from the pens of those who hated and feared him. Among these critics was the Rev. William Hubbard (*c.* 1621–1704), pastor of the church at Ipswich, Massachusetts. In 1677, John Foster, the first Boston printer, published Hubbard's *A narrative of the troubles with the Indians in New England*, which as late as 1938, was called, somewhat incautiously, "a great American prose classic." It was duly licensed at Boston, March 29, 1677, and upon its appearance created some comment, favorable and unfavorable. Sometime in the same year, Hubbard went to England, and on June 27, 1677, Roger L'Estrange licensed an English edition of the book. It appeared under the title *The present state of New England, being a narrative of the troubles with the Indians in New England*, London, 1677.

It has been customary to call White Kennett's *Bibliotheca*

* Read at the Chicago meeting, December 29, 1938.

Americana primordia, London, 1713, the "first bibliography of Americana in English." In it Kennett lists both the Boston and London editions of Hubbard's book. So far, the first auction record we have been able to find was at the celebrated Roxburghe sale in 1812, where a copy of the first, or Boston, edition, fetched £1. 6*s*. The first serious bibliographic consideration given to the book appeared in Thomas W. Field's *Indian bibliography*, New York, 1873. In 1877 Joseph Sabin commented on Hubbard's book and started a controversy about the priority of the map in the Boston edition and the map in the London edition, which has been going on, more or less, ever since. But neither Field nor Sabin seems to have emphasized what seems to some of us to be the most important thing about that map.

It appears to be a fact that Hubbard's *Narrative* (Boston, 1677) contains the first map ever engraved and printed in America. We use the word "America" advisedly, for the first map ever so produced below the Rio Grande, of which we can be quite sure, is dated five years later. So in the first, or Boston, edition of Hubbard we find "A map of New-England" which proclaims itself as "Being the first that ever was here cut." On the map, in the general region of the White Mountains, there is the legend "The White Hills." We shall call this the "White Hills variant."

When Hubbard's book came out in London as *The present state of New England*, there again was "A map of New-England. Being the first that ever was here cut." But now the "White Hills" become "Wine Hills," and twenty-five other perfectly intelligible American place names are reduced to almost ludicrous mis-spellings. Sabin made the categorical statement that the "White Hills variant" belonged in the first, or Boston edition, and that the "Wine Hills variant" belonged in the second, or London edition. In the 1880's, two Boston bibliographers, Samuel Abbott Green and Charles Deane, joined issue with Sabin and argued that since a correction is presumptive evidence

of a later printing, then the "White Hills" map was the later, and belonged in the London edition. In those days, bibliographers did not have access to many copies of either book. Many of the available copies were defective in that they lacked the map. Facsimiles of both maps were made by Henry Stevens, and others. Collectors inserted those facsimile maps into their copies of the book. Those who followed Sabin's view inserted the "White Hills" map in the Boston edition, and the "Wine Hills" map in the London edition. Those who followed the reasoning of Green and Deane, inserted them vice-versa.

The matter came to our attention when in 1926, the Harvard University Press published E. D. Fite's and A. Freeman's *A book of old maps*. This interesting compilation of reproductions sets forth the "Wine Hills" map as the first printed in America, and as having been done in Boston. By inference, it belonged to the Boston edition of Hubbard's book. It seemed to us that the controversy was due to the fact that no one had ever examined enough copies of the two books, and ascertained in which each map occurred in its original form. But how to collate many copies of a book, which had long since been accounted "rare," and which collectors and librarians were reluctant to send through the mail?

After some years of correspondence and travel we can now say that we have examined, or caused to be examined, fifty copies of the Boston edition of Hubbard's book, and an equal number of copies of the London edition. The number of copies which have been described in catalogues, but whose whereabouts at present eludes us, is such that we feel justified in saying there must be at least eighty copies of each book surviving today.

In the course of the investigation, we found booksellers talking about "first" and "second" "issues" of the Boston edition, and similarly of the London edition. In examining and collating these textual and typographical differences within the books, as well as on the maps, we found many more than two possible "is-

sues," or "variants" within each edition. Here it seems to me worth while to quote from Henry C. Hutchins, *Robinson Crusoe and its printing* (New York, 1924) where he was confronted by a similar situation in studying the bibliography of that classic:

> While it is logical to suppose that the sheets with the errors "apyly" and "Pilate" came from the press before the sheets with "apply" and "Pilot," and copies of either or both of the misprints will always command a high price, yet as all the sheets of the entire first printing were bound up, a copy . . . might be secured in any combination of these readings. (p. 59.)

Using Dr. Hutchins's method we drew charts and diagrams and have reached this conclusion: That if a customer had gone into John Foster's bookstore in Boston in 1677, on the day upon which Hubbard's book appeared for sale, he might have picked up not two or four possibly variant printings, but any one of twenty-five. In the fifty copies of the book which we have examined, we have counted at least nineteen textual and typographical differences and emendations, which seem capable of appearing in almost any possible combination. Of the fifty copies of the Boston Hubbard so far considered, twenty appear to be "unique" books, and six exist in four copies or less. The old rule about additional matter or correction implying a second or later printing, breaks down completely. Arranging the variants in anything like an intelligent or intelligible, chronological order seems out of the question. After years of investigation we almost feel like defying any bibliographer ever to state and prove that one of those variants was printed before any other one. Mathematically, we understand, one would have to raise two to the twentieth power, in order to get the number of mathematically possible variants of the Boston Hubbard which, theoretically, might exist.

The second or London edition of the book provides a similar story. Booksellers and bibliographers have discussed its "first" and "second" "issues." So far we have counted not less than seven possible variants, and again are utterly unwilling to make any

statement of the order in which they may have been printed. There are six possible variants of the London license leaf alone.

The investigation involved chasing copies of the book all over this country and England. The Menzies copy of the Boston edition was run to earth in Colorado Springs; the Britwell copy, instead of being in the Huntington Library was in Dr. Rosenbach's private library in Philadelphia. One of the British Museum copies dropped out of sight and has just turned up at the University of Virginia. Peter Collinson's copy, with his initials on the title, is evidently one of those on the Franklin manuscript list at the Grolier Club[1] and is now at the Library Company of Philadelphia. The copy owned by Simon Bradstreet, one of the Boston licensors, is in the Library of Congress; the copy used by Samuel G. Drake in his 1865 edition of Hubbard, is now in the possession of a business man in Wall Street; the copy used by one of the earlier New England critics, John Davis, and subsequently owned by Wilberforce Eames, George D. Smith and Roderick Terry, is now owned by one of the executive officers at the Lakeside Press in Chicago. In the location of these copies, the question of bindings became important, and frequently the names of Bedford, Pratt, Rivière, Zaehnsdorf, Sangorski, or Bradstreet, were the most significant data connected with a given copy of the book. "Red levant morocco by Pratt" as noted in the Brinley catalogue of fifty years ago, led us a merry chase through the two Levi Leiter sales, to a safe on West Fortieth Street, New York. The Lothian copy has crossed the Atlantic twice with the last ten years. The Brinley copy, in "dark green grosgrained levant morocco by Bedford," was bought by James F. Hunnewell of Boston and was given, only this year, by his son James M. Hunnewell, to the American Antiquarian Society.

But to get back to the map: we can at least prepare a table which shows a census of copies of the two editions of the book, which we have examined. (Appendix A.) Summarized, it in-

[1] *Colophon II*, No. 4, pp. 606 ff.

forms us that of the fifty copies of the Boston edition, twenty-four contain the original "White Hills" map, seven contain facsimiles of the "White Hills" map, five contain facsimiles of the "Wine Hills" map, two contain the original "Wine Hills" map, and thirteen lack the map in any form. This tends to prove that the "White Hills" is the right map for the Boston edition. Of the two copies which contained an original "Wine Hills" map, one was Charles Deane's own copy, which has been rebound, and contains also a facsimile of the "White Hills" map. Since we know that Deane argued for the "Wine Hills" map in the Boston edition, it is proper to enfer that he made up this copy with both maps for his own use. The only other copy of the Boston edition with the "Wine Hills" map did not contain any map until 1935 — the "wrong" map was inserted in that year by a bibliographer who decided he had better take it out again and has since replaced it with the "White Hills" map. So there is no copy of the Boston edition containing an original "Wine Hills" map, unless it has been recently inserted.

The examination of the copies of the London edition was equally instructive, and pointed to the same conclusion. Of the fifty copies, thirty-eight contain an original "Wine Hills" map, five contain a facsimile "Wine Hills" map, and the remaining seven lack the map altogether. There is no copy of the London edition containing the "White Hills" map.

As to how the first edition (Boston) of the map contains the correct spellings, while the second edition (London) contains mis-spellings, the answer becomes apparent by an examination of the nature of the errors themselves. One example will suffice: "Casco," Maine is correctly spelled in the Boston edition. But the second "c" could easily be mistaken for a lower case "e." Probably, the London engraver had never heard of "Casco," so he made it "Caseo." Appendix B, comparing these, indicates the same kind of an understandable ignorance on the part of the English engraver in each case.

The textual and typographical variations inside the books themselves can be identified by reference to the list of these variations, which we also print as Appendix C. As we have said, these nineteen errors in the Boston edition, and the seven or possibly nine errors in the London edition, may easily occur in any possible combination. Each of the owners of the book considered here knows exactly what he has. We shall file in the Clements Library a completely tabulated statement of all the copies we have considered, and reference may be had to that by any enquiring bibliographer, who may turn up a copy we have not listed. By this means, we can tell him whether his copy is like "Pierpont Morgan A," or like "New York Historical Society B," or any one of twenty-five. If he turns up a new variant, we can add that to the notes. Indeed, we expect that additional copies will produce evidence of new variant printings. During the early stages of this investigation Dr. Eames remarked to us, laughingly, "Don't expect me to be surprised if you don't find any two copies alike."

To this we also add an appendix on the migration of copies — a subject which is becoming increasingly interesting to bibliographers, as books pass across the Atlantic Ocean to newer and safer homes in the western world. (Appendix D.)

In conclusion, we can only say that despite our tedious investigation, and equally tedious presentation, we fully expect cataloguers to go on talking about "first" and "second," or "earlier" and "later" issues of both the editions of Hubbard's book. Of course, they should not, but they probably will. But we do hope we have settled the matter of which map belongs in which edition of the book, and we hope some of our readers will be amused at the distribution and migration of the copies which have been so courteously described and reported by our patient friends among librarians, collectors, and antiquarian booksellers.

APPENDIX A

SUMMARY OF COPIES OF BOSTON AND LONDON EDITIONS OF HUBBARD'S *NARRATIVE*

Showing which contain the "White Hills" and which contain the "Wine Hills" variant of the map, which contain facsimiles and in which the map is lacking. (December 26, 1938.)

	Boston Edition		*London Edition*	
Known Owners	*White Hills*	*Wine Hills*	*White Hills*	*Wine Hills*
American Antiq. Soc.	* fac.	fac.	no copy	
American Antiq. Soc.	*		no copy	
Bemis, Frank, Est. of	*		no copy	
Breaker, Wm., Est. of	no copy			*
Bodleian (A)	no copy			*
Bodleian (B)	no copy			*
Boston Athenaeum	wants map			*
Boston Public Library (A)	wants map			* fac.
Boston Public Library (B)	*		no copy	
British Museum (A)	*			*
British Museum (B)	no copy			*
British Museum (C)	no copy			*
Brown, John Carter, Lib. (A)	*			*
Brown, John Carter, Lib. (B)	wants map		wants map	
Brown Univ. Library	no copy		wants map	
Cambridge Univ. Library	* fac.			*
Cohen, Wm. W.		* fac.	no copy	
Colorado Spgs. F. A. Center	*		no copy	
Connecticut State Library		* fac.	wants map	
Cornell Univ. Library	wants map		no copy	
Dartmouth College Library	*		no copy	
Deering, Frank C.		* fac.		*
Edinburgh Univ. Library (A)	no copy			*
Edinburgh Univ. Library (B)	no copy		wants map	
Elkins, William M.	no copy			*
Goodspeed's Bookshop	*			*
Harmsworth, R. L., Est. of	no copy			*
Harper, Lathrop C.	* fac.			*
Harvard Univ. Library (A)		* fac.		*
Harvard Univ. Library (B)	* fac.			*
Huntington Library	*			*

Known Owners	*Boston Edition*		*London Edition*	
	White Hills	*Wine Hills*	*White Hills*	*Wine Hills*
Jones, Herschel V., Est. of	*		no copy	
Jones, Matt B.	*			*
Littel, C. G.	no copy			*
Library of Congress (A)	wants map			*
Library of Congress (B)	wants map		wants map	
Lull, Robert D.	wants map		no copy	
Massachusetts Hist. Soc. (A)	wants map			*
Massachusetts Hist. Soc. (B)	*		no copy	
Maggs Brothers	no copy			*
Miller, S. Millington	no copy			* fac.
Michigan-Clements Library	*			*
Morgan, Pierpont, Library (A)	*		no copy	
Morgan, Pierpont, Library (B)	wants map		no copy	
Newberry-Ayer Library	*			*
New Eng. Hist. Gen. Soc.	* (fragment)		no copy	
New Hampshire State Library	no copy			*
New York Hist. Soc. (A)	*		wants map	
New York Hist. Soc. (B)	wants map		no copy	
New York Pub. Lib. (A)	*			*
New York Pub. Lib. (B)	* fac.			*
Pennsylvania Hist. Soc.	*		no copy	
Pequot Library	* fac.	*		*
Philadelphia, Lib. Co. of	wants map		wants map	
Robinson, W. H., Ltd.	no copy			*
Rosenbach, A. S. W. (A)	*			*
Rosenbach, A. S. W. (B)	*			*
Salem Athenaeum	no copy			*
Scheide, John H.	wants map		no copy	
Stevens, H., Son and Stiles (A)	no copy			*
Stevens, H., Son and Stiles (B)	no copy			* fac.
Stokes, Anson P.	* fac.		no copy	
van Sinderen, Adrian	*		no copy	
Virginia, Univ.-McGregor (A)	*			*
Virginia, Univ.-McGregor (B)	no copy			* fac.
Watertown Library	no copy			* fac.
Watkinson Library	* (fragment)			*
Wilson, Helen G.	no copy			*
Williams College-Chapin	*			*
Yale Univ. Library (A)	wants map		no copy	
Yale Univ. Library (B)		* fac.	no copy	

APPENDIX B

FOSTER-HUBBARD MAP OF NEW ENGLAND DIFFERENCES IN PLACE NAMES

The White Hills Map	*The Wine Hills Map*
*Newhaven	Newhauen
Mattabesick	Mottabesick
Sey-broak	Sey-byoak
*Stoniton	Stonttoai
*Pequid Country	Pequid Cauntry
*Providenc	Providene
*The White hills	The Wine Hills
*Lancaster	Lancasten
*Billerica	Billeriea
*Woburn	Waburn
*Sandwic	Sandwii
*Wajuset Hill	Waujusei Hill
*Haveril	Haueril
*Newpor	Newper
*Bradford	Brodford
*Mount:hope	Moiint:hopo
Hamton	Haniton
*Newbury	Newbari
*Piscatequa	Piseatequa
*Tanton	Tauton
*Merimack	Merimaek
Casco Bay	Caseo Bay
Kenebec R R	Kenebe R R
*Portsm	Portsin
*Ipswich	Ipswieh

* Noted by Charles Deane, *M.H.S. Proceed.*, 2nd ser., IV, 16 (1887).

N.B: Deane also lists "Winter Harbor" on the White Hills map, and "Winter Harbor" on the Wine Hills map. This seems immaterial.

APPENDIX C

TYPOGRAPHICAL AND TEXTUAL VARIANT READINGS

In William Hubbard's *A narrative of the troubles with the Indians in New-England*, Boston, 1677

Title-page: lines 15-16, ". . . in | Brooks of Arnon." *or*
lines 15-16, ". . . in | the Brooks of Arnon."

First text: p. 37, correctly numbered, *or*
p. 37, numbered 3, *or*
p. 37, numbered 9.
p. 42, correctly numbered, *or*
p. 42, so numbered, but whole number inverted, *or*
p. 42, numbered 43.
p. 43, correctly numbered, *or*
p. 43, so numbered, but whole number inverted, *or*
p. 43, numbered 42.
p. 75, correctly numbered, *or*
p. 75, numbered 74.
Sig. M is M, M2, M3, [M4], *or*
Sig. M is M, M2, M3, M4, [M5], [M6].
p. 94, has "Narrative" in running title, *or*
p. 94, has "Marrative" in running title.
Sig. [M5] verso, has "Narrative" in running title in roman, *or*
Sig. [M5] verso, has "Narrative" in running title in italic.
Sig. m, correctly lettered, *or*
Sig. m, lettered n.
p. 111, correctly numbered, *or*
p. 111, numbered 11.
p. 113, correctly numbered, *or*
p. 113, not numbered.

Second text: Sig. B3, correctly designated, *or*
Sig. B3, designated A3.
p. 39, correctly numbered, *or*
p. 39, fig. 3 inverted.
Sig. F3, correctly designated, *or*
Sig. F3, designated F4.
p. 81, correctly numbered, *or*
p. 81, numbered 82.
p. 81, has obvious blank after line 7, *or*
p. 81, line 8 begins "As for *predictions* . . ."
p. 88, errata in ten lines, *or*
p. 88, errata in twelve lines.

"White Hills" genuine map, *or*
"White Hills" facsimile map, *or*
"Wine Hills" genuine map, *or*
"Wine Hills" facsimile map, *or*
Map wanting.
Sermon, Hubbard's *Happiness of a people*, 1676, bound in, *or*
Sermon, Hubbard's *Happiness of a people*, 1676, not bound in.

TYPOGRAPHICAL AND TEXTUAL VARIANT READINGS

In William Hubbard's *The present state of New-England, being a narrative of the troubles with the Indians in New England*, London, 1677

License leaf in variant "A," with June spelled "June," *or*
License leaf in variant "A," with June spelled "Juue," *or*
License leaf in variant "B," with June spelled "June," *or*
License leaf in variant "C," with June spelled "Juue."
"Wine Hills" genuine map, *or*
"Wine Hills" facsimile map, *or*
"White Hills" genuine map, *or*
"White Hills" facsimile map.
Map wanting.
p. 120, correctly numbered, *or*
p. 120, numbered 118.

APPENDIX D

THE MIGRATION OF COPIES

The present location of certain copies of Hubbard's *Narrative*, Boston, 1677, and the previous owners of those same copies.

American Antiquarian Society — George Brinley, James F. Hunnewell, James M. Hunnewell.
American Antiquarian Society — William Henry Bass.
Bemis, Frank B., Estate of — Susan Ingersoll, Nathaniel Hawthorne, Quaritch.
Boston Athenaeum — Daniel Henchman, William S. Shaw.
Boston Public Library (A) — N. Prince, Anthony Somerby, Henry Somerby, Joshua Moody, Thomas Prince.
Boston Public Library (B) — John A. Lewis.
British Museum — Thomas Grenville.
Brown, John Carter, Library (A) — Daniel Wray, The Charterhouse, Henry N. Stevens, Lathrop C. Harper.
Brown, John Carter, Library (B) —
Cambridge University — S. Sandars.

Clements, William L., Library — Marshall C. Lefferts, Quaritch, John B. Stetson, Jr.

Cohen, William W. — John Farmer, E. Stanley Hart, Theodore L. DeVinne, Roderick Terry. (Probably this is the copy S. G. Drake used in editing his edition of Hubbard in 1865.)

Colorado Springs Fine Arts Center — William Menzies, Brayton Ives, Dodd Mead, Goodspeed, L. A. Kriegbaum, Mrs. F. M. P. Taylor.

Connecticut State Library — Charles Deane, Samuel G. Drake, W. S. Appleton, Charles T. Wells.

Cornell University Library — Roscoe, Robinson (bookseller), Francis W. Greenwood, Jared Sparks.

Dartmouth College Library — Curragh Chase, Matt B. Jones.

Deering, Frank C. — Charles F. Heartman.

Goodspeed's Bookshop — Edward Taylor, Ebenezer Devotion, Samuel Devotion, George E. Littlefield, Sumner Hollingsworth.

Harper, Lathrop C. — I. N. Phelps Stokes.

Harvard University Library (A) — R. Waterson.

Harvard University Library (B) — Joseph J. Cooke.

Huntington, Henry E., Library — E. Dwight Church.

Jones, H. V., Estate of —

Jones, Matt B. —

Library of Congress (A) — Simon Bradstreet.

Library of Congress (B) —

Lull, Robert D. — Edward Jackson, Samuel Jackson, Green Sanborn.

Massachusetts Historical Society (A) — Thomas Dowse.

Massachusetts Historical Society (B) — British Museum, Henry Stevens, Matt B. Jones.

Morgan, Pierpont, Library — Francis Wright, Theodore Irwin.

Morgan, Pierpont, Library — Theodore Irwin.

Newberry Library — Henry Stevens, Edward E. Ayer.

New England Historic Genealogical Society —

New York Historical Society (A) — Francis Morgan, Rufus King.

New York Historical Society (B) —

New York Public Library (A) — James Lenox.

New York Public Library (B) — Henri Ternaux, James Lenox.

Pennsylvania, Historical Society of — Charlemagne Tower.

Pequot Library — Henry Stevens, B. F. Stevens, Charles Deane, Dodd Mead.

Philadelphia, Library Company of — Zachariah Poulson.

Rosenbach, A. S. W. (A) — William Hubbard, Sir Robert Southwell, William Harris, Christie-Miller, H. E. Huntington, George D. Smith, H. V. Jones.

Rosenbach, A. S. W. (B) — Sir Walter Scott(?), Levi Z. Leiter.

Scheide, John H. — Jonathan Loreing, Samuel Whitwell, Greenville College (Tennessee).

Stokes, Anson Phelps — Thomas Scot, Quaritch, I. N. Phelps Stokes.
van Sinderen, Adrian — Robert Hoe, Herman LeRoy Edgar, A. S. W. Rosenbach.
Virginia, University of, Library — British Museum, Henry Stevens, William G. Mather, Tracy W. McGregor.
Watkinson Library — George Brinley.
Williams College-Chapin Collection — Lathrop C. Harper, Alfred C. Chapin.
Yale University Library (A) —
Yale University Library (B) — Henry Martyn Dexter.

The present location of certain copies of Hubbard's *Present state*, London, 1677, and the previous owners of those same copies.

Bodleian Library (A) — Stationers Company.
Bodleian Library (B) — J. Lister, Martin Lister.
Boston Athenaeum —
Boston Public Library — Samuel Latham Mitchill Barlow.
Breaker, William, Estate of —
British Museum (A) —
British Museum (B) —
British Museum (C) — George III.
Brown, John Carter, Library (A) —
Brown, John Carter, Library (B) — Thomas Wenn.
Brown University Library — Thomas F. Thornton, T. Wingate Thornton, Sidney Rider, Marsden J. Perry.
Cambridge University Library —
Clements, William L., Library — Newbold Edgar.
Connecticut State Library — Charles T. Wells.
Deering, Frank C. — George D. Smith, Charles F. Heartman.
Edinburgh University Library (A) — Stationers Company.
Edinburgh University Library (B) — James Chetham.
Elkins, William M. — John Hildsley, Sir William Dawes, C. Stuart, Francis Edwards.
Goodspeed's Book Shop — C. L. F. Robinson.
Harmsworth, R. L., Estate of — Henry Labouchere.
Harper, Lathrop C. — Robert Southey, George Brinley, Levi Z. Leiter.
Harvard University Library (A) —
Harvard University Library (B) — Frederick Lewis Gay.
Huntington, Henry E., Library — Lady Sutherland, E. Dwight Church.
Jones, Matt B. — Henry N. Stevens.
Library of Congress (A) —
Library of Congress (B) — Peter Force(?).
Littel, C. G. — Thomas Thacher, John Davis, Wilberforce Eames, George D. Smith, Roderick Terry, Frederick Spiegelberg.

Maggs Brothers —
Massachusetts Historical Society — Sunderland Library, in Blenheim Palace, Quaritch, Goodspeed.
Miller, S. Millington — Israel Disoway.
Newberry Library — Henry Stevens, Edward E. Ayer.
New Hampshire State Library —
New York Historical Society — Robert Bell, Robert Greenhow.
New York Public Library (A) — Robert L. Stuart.
New York Public Library (B) — James Lenox.
Pequot Library — Dodd Mead.
Philadelphia, Library Company of — Peter Collinson.
Robinson, W. H., Ltd. — Marquis of Lothian.
Rosenbach, A. S. W. (A) —
Rosenbach, A. S. W. (B) — Thomas W. Streeter.
Salem Athenaeum —
Stevens, H., Son & Stiles (A) —
Stevens, H., Son & Stiles (B) — Advocates Library.
Virginia, University of, Library (A) — Henry Stevens, William G. Mather, Tracy W. McGregor.
Virginia, University of, Library (B) —Tracy W. McGregor.
Watertown Library — Benjamin DeForest Curtiss.
Watkinson Library — George Brinley.
Williams College Library, Chapin Collection — Lathrop C. Harper, Alfred C. Chapin.
Wilson, Helen G. —

EDWARD HALLE'S "THE VNION OF THE TWO NOBLE AND ILLUSTRE FAMELIES OF LANCASTRE & YORKE" AND ITS PLACE AMONG ENGLISH AMERICANA*

By EDWIN WOLF, 2ND

COLUMBUS landed at Palos on March 15, 1493, and within that year the texts of his various letters announcing the discovery of the Indies were issued in two Spanish and five Latin editions, in Barcelona, Valladolid, Rome, Basle, Paris and Antwerp. John Cabot is known to have made successful voyages to Newfoundland in 1497 and 1498, and yet the first printed mention of John Cabot and his discovery was in the inscription for the world map of 1544, called the "Paris Map," where the legends appear in Spanish and Latin. It states that John Cabot discovered land, approximately at Cape Breton Island, on June 24, 1494, undoubtedly an error for 1497, a careless scribe having copied MCCCCXCVII as MCCCCXCIIII. The legends were printed separately in Latin in a twenty-four-leaf pamphlet, probably at Antwerp about 1544. The first full account of the discovery appeared in Galvam's *Tratado* of 1563. However, the earliest printed mention of these voyages in English was in Stow's *The Chronicle of England* (1580), where the voyage undertaken in 1498 — John Cabot's second to America — is attributed to his son Sebastian. Stow's account was reprinted by

* Read by title at the Chicago meeting, December 29, 1938.

Hakluyt in his *Divers Voyages* of 1582, where he heads the passage "A Note of Sebastian Gabotes Voyage of Discoverie, taken out of an old Chronicle, written by Robert Fabian, sometime Alderman of London, which is in the custodie of John Stowe, Citizen, a diligent searcher and preserver of Antiquities." The first edition of Robert Fabyan's chronicle appeared in 1516; subsequent editions were issued in 1533, 1542, and 1559, but not one of these mentions Cabot or America. An anonymous *Cronicon regum Angliae*, one of the Cottonian Manuscripts, now in the British Museum, written about 1510, contains an account reminiscent of the story attributed to Fabyan, and seems to be the original, or to have been copied from the same original as that of Fabyan. No full account of John Cabot's voyage appeared in English until Hakluyt included it in the *Divers Voyages*, and even then John Cabot's name, as distinct from his son Sebastian's, did not appear until Hakluyt's 1600 edition of *The Principal Navigations*.

Of the voyages of the Bristol merchants, Hugh Elyot and Robert Thorne the elder, the first printed reference was that by Thorne's son, also printed by Hakluyt in *Divers Voyages* of 1582. A manuscript copy of Thorne's letter to Hakluyt, made for John Dee, claims that the voyage was made in 1494. Recently discovered material has shown that no separate voyage was made by Elyot and Thorne in the fifteenth century but that a number of voyages were undertaken from Bristol with Portuguese partners from about 1501 to 1505. Dr. James A. Williamson in *The Voyages of the Cabots and the English Discovery of North America under Henry VII and Henry VIII*, 1929, has clarified and cited a printed reference earlier than Hakluyt's. Again it occurs in Stow's paraphrase of the lost chronicle of Robert Fabyan, where the story is given under the seventeenth year of Henry VII (August 22, 1501–August 21, 1502), *This year also were brought unto the king three men, taken in the new found island*. Stow has added that the Indians were captured by Sebas-

tian Cabot, "a gratuitous and erroneous interpolation, and not the information of Fabian himself," comments Dr. Williamson; Hakluyt, reprinting the story, assumed it occurred after the 1498 voyage of Cabot. These Bristol voyages have not appeared distinct from those of the Cabots and in their proper relation until very recent times, although the statement made by Robert Thorne the younger, to the effect that his father and Hugh Elyot had discovered Newfoundland, had long been known.

The next English voyage to America of which we have any record is that of Sebastian Cabot to the Northwest in 1508 or 1509. The confusion between the Cabots, father and son, has led to even greater confusion between their voyages, and although the accounts sound as if they referred to many different voyages this is due only to uncertainty of rumor and the inaccuracy of early historians. It has been the scholarship of such men as Mr. Winship, in his pioneer *Cabot Bibliography*, and Dr. Williamson, which enables us to make order out of the chaotic fragments of the early records. Sebastian Cabot had a far greater international reputation than his father, and so we find references to the voyage of 1508 or 1509 in Peter Martyr Anglerius's *De Orbe Novo Decades*, Alcala, 1516; in his *De Orbe Novo Decades*, Alcala, 1530, the first to contain the seventh decade; in his *Summario de la Generale Istoria de l'Indie Occidentali*, Venice, 1534; in Ramusio's *Primo Volume delle Navigationi et Viaggi*, Venice, 1550; the *Terzo Volume*; 1556; in Gomara's *La historia general de las Indias*, Saragossa, 1552; for the first time in English in Eden's translation, *The Decades of the newe worlde or west India*, London, 1555; in Girava's *Dos Libros de Cosmographia*, 1556, a reference unnoticed by Winship and Williamson; and of course in many later works on America. Eden's *Decades* has been considered up to now the first book in English to record a successful English voyage to America.

Between 1519 and 1525, John Rastell, merchant, printer,

brother-in-law of Sir Thomas More, and apparently an interested party in a proposed voyage of exploration and colonization to Newfoundland, published a little volume, *A New Interlude and a mery of the Nature of the iiij Elementes*, of which the only surviving copy is an imperfect one in the British Museum. In this drama is a passage of considerable length referring to America, reading in part:

> This eest parte is callyd Ynde
> But this Newe Landes found lately
> Ben callyd America bycause only
> Americus dyd furst them fynde.

It is the first book of English authorship to mention America. It furthermore speaks of some men of England who went to explore the new lands to the westward, with the King's permission, but never reached there due to the cowardice and treachery of the sailors. In *A treatyse of the newe India*, a translation by Eden of Sebastian Munster's *Cosmographia*, London (1553), the translator, in the dedication to the Duke of Northumberland, mentions that there had been "furnished & sent forth certen shippes under the governaunce of Sebastian Cabot yet living, and one syr Thomas Perte, whose faynt heart was the cause that that viage toke none effect. . ." Incidentally, this is the first book printed in English to contain the name of either of the Cabots. A manuscript complaint on the part of John Rastell, first published by Prof. A. W. Reed in 1923, states that Rastell was interested in "a viage unto the new found land." Dr. Williamson has shown that the voyage referred to in the *Interlude*, the Eden preface and the complaint was a single unsuccessful venture begun in 1517, noting that the seeming inconsistency, the fact that neither Cabot nor Spert, or Pert, are mentioned by Rastell in his drama, or his complaint, may be due to the fact that neither of the two named actually went on the voyage, but had only been charged with the preparations for it. In other words, as in the Willoughby expedition of 1553, Sebastian Cabot drew up the

plans for the ships and gave the explorers his professional advice, so that they went under his "governaunce," and yet he did not accompany them. So we may take it that both the *Interlude* and the *Treatyse* speak of the same unsuccessful voyage of 1517. The *Interlude*, the first book written by an Englishman of American interest, was not the first book printed in England to mention America; that honor had been taken by the celebrated satire, *The shyppe of fooles*, translated from the Latin of Sebastian Brandt by H. Watson, and printed at London on July 6, 1509 by Wynkyn de Worde. Of this volume only a single copy, printed on vellum, is extant in the Bibliothèque Nationale. Another translation of the same work by Alexander Barclay appeared from the press of Richard Pynson on the fourteenth of December of the same year. There was, moreover, printed by John of Doesborough at Antwerp between 1511 and 1520 a little pamphlet, *Of the newe lādes and of ye people founde by the messengers of the kynge of Portȳgale named Emanuel*, also a translation, but yet the first historical account of a voyage to America to appear in English.

And now we come to the climax of the story, a hitherto unrecorded account printed in English of an English voyage to America. Richard Hakluyt recorded his source; Purchas reprinted it; Dr. Williamson apparently just missed it; and Miss E. G. R. Taylor in *Tudor Geography 1485–1583* does not list it. In Edward Halle's *The Vnion of the two noble and illustre famelies of Lancastre & Yorke*, a chronicle history of England, appears an account of the voyage of John Rut to Newfoundland in 1527. It was first published by Richard Grafton in 1548 (there is no Berthelet edition of 1542; the entry in the *Short-Title Catalogue* is an error); reprinted for Grafton by Richard Jugge in 1550; reissued by John Kingston about 1560; and, enlarged and edited by Grafton, reissued as his chronicle in 1568; and by H. Denham for R. Tottle and H. Toye in 1569. The history by Halle reads, "This same moneth the king sent two

fayre shippes, well manned and vitayled, having in them divers cunnyng men, to seeke straunge Regions; and forth they set out of the Thamys the xx day of May, if they sped well you shall heere at their returne." No further entry was made.

Hakluyt in his *Principal Navigations* gives the story as follows:

The voyage of the two ships, whereof the one was called the Dominus vobiscum, set out the 20 day of May in the yere of king Henry the eight, and in the yere of our lord God 1527, for the discouerie of the North Partes. Master Robert Thorne of Bristoll, a notable member and ornament of his country, as wel for his learning, as great charity to the poore, in a letter of his to king Henry the 8 and a large discourse to doctor Leigh, his ambassadour to Charles the Emperour, (which both are to be seene almost in the beginning of the first volume of this my work) exhorted the aforesaid king with very waighty and substantial reasons, to set forth a discouery euen to the North Pole. And that it may be knowne that this his motion tooke present effect, I thought it good herewithall to put downe the testimonies of two of our Chroniclers, M. Hall, and M. Grafton, who both write in this sort. This same moneth (say they) king Henry the 8 sent 2 faire ships wel manned & victualled, hauing in them diuers cunning men to seek strange regions, & so they set forth out of the Thames the 20 day of May in the 19 yeere of his raigne, which was the yere of our Lord, 1527. And whereas master Hal, and master Grafton say, that in those ships there were diuers cunning men, I haue made great enquirie of such as by their yeeres and delight in Nauigation, might giue me any light to know who those cunning men should be, which were the directers in the aforesaid voyage. And it hath bene tolde me by Sir Martine Frobisher, and M. Richard Allen, a knight of the Sepulchre, that a Canon of Saint paul in London, which was a great Mathematician, and a man indued with wealth, did much aduance the action, and went therein himselfe in person, but what his name was I cannot learne of any. And further they told me that one of the ships was called The Dominus vobiscum, which is a name likely to be given by a religious man of those dayes: and that sayling very farre Northwestward, one of the ships was cast away as it entred into a dangerous gulph, about the great opening, betweene the North parts of Newfoundland, and the countrey called by her Maiestie, Meta Incognita. Whereupon the other ship shaping her course towards Cape Briton, and the coastes of Arambec, and oftentimes putting their men on land to search the state of those unknown regions, returned home about the beginning of October, of the yere aforesayd. And thus much (by reason of the great negligence of the writers of those times, who should haue vsed more care in preseruing of the memories of the worthy actes of our nation,) is all that hitherto I can learne, or finde out of this voyage.

Dr. Williamson quotes only the passage in Grafton's edition of 1569, and that of Hakluyt; no other bibliographers, including Harrisse, mention the story at all; and no collections of Americana include Halle's chronicle, although its appearance in 1548 makes it an item of *Americana Vetustissima.*

The story of Rut's voyage has been detailed in full by Dr. Williamson; I have considered it fitting here to summarize his account. Two ships, the *Mary of Gilford* and the *Samson* (Hakluyt's information that one of the ships was the *Dominus Vobiscum* was merely hearsay evidence from Sir Martin Frobisher and Richard Allen, and incorrect), left Plymouth on June 10, 1527. A letter of Rut written from St. John's in Newfoundland on August 3, unknown to Hakluyt, was reprinted by Purchas in his *Pilgrimes*, 1625. Rut wrote that the two ships sailed together until the night of July 1 when Rut in the *Mary* lost the *Samson* in a storm. He continued as far north as 53°, where on July 3 he encountered so much floating ice that he deemed it advisable to turn southward. Four days later he came within 52° where he saw land, probably southern Labrador. There he entered a harbor, which he called Cape de Bas, and, after fishing a while to replenish his food supply, sailed on towards those islands which were his original destination, probably the East Indies, which he was supposed to reach through the Northwest Passage, or possibly the West Indies, where one of the ships actually appeared. Another letter reprinted by Purchas was also from St. John's, dated August 10, 1527, and was written to Cardinal Wolsey by Albertus de Prato, who may be one of the "cunnyng men" referred to by Halle, and the "Canon of Saint Paul" mentioned by Hakluyt. It is barely possible that Purchas, miscopying the bad writing of the original letter, wrote *53°*, instead of *63°*, which would mean that Rut went near Hudson's Strait or Frobisher Strait as reported to Hakluyt by Frobisher. Anyway, Rut and the *Mary* returned safe for they are found making a trip in the

autumn of 1528 from England to Bordeaux for wines. It was believed that the *Samson* had foundered in the storm.

Dr. Williamson continues his relation of Rut's voyage with a summary from two recently discovered manuscripts in the Archives of the Indies, and a passage in Oviedo's *Historia General de las Indias*, 1535, which last Dr. Williamson informs us "escaped even the searching eye of Richard Hakluyt." However, speaking of the Cabot-Pert expedition of 1516, in the third volume of the 1600 edition, Hakluyt writes:

Moreover it seemeth that Gonsaluo de Ouiedo, a famous Spanish writer alludeth vnto the sayde voyage in the beginning of the 13. chapter of the 19. booke of his generall and natural historie of the West Indies, agreeing very well with the time about which Richard Eden writeth that the foresaid voyage was begun. The authors wordes are these, as I finde them translated into Italian by that excellent and famous man Baptista Ramusius. [There follows a passage in Italian.] This extract importeth thus much in English, to wit: That in the yeere 1517 [The date should read 1527; the error is Ramusio's, and so the expedition could not be that of Cabot and Pert which we know never got farther than Ireland anyway, and must be that of Rut. This passage in Hakluyt was overlooked by Dr. Williamson who gives another translation of the excerpt from Oviedo, published by F. A. Kirkpatrick in the *English Historical Review*.] an English Rouer vnder the colour of trauelling to discouer, came with a great shippe vnto the parts of Brasill on the coast of the firme land, and from thence he crossed ouer vnto this Iland of Hispaniola, and arriued neere vnto the mouth of the hauen of this citie of S. Domingo, and sent his shipboate full of men on shoare, and demaunded leaue to enter into this hauen, saying that hee came with merchandise to traffique. But at that very instant the gouernour of the castle Francis de Tapia caused a tire of ordinance to be shot from the castle at the ship, for she bare in directly with the hauen. When the Englishmen sawe this, they withdrew themselves out, and those that were in the shipboate, got themselues with all speede on shipboord. And in trueth the warden of the castle committed an ouersight: for if the shippe had entred into the hauen, the men thereof could not haue come on lande without leaue both of the citie and of the castle. Therefore the people of the ship seeing how they were receiued, sayled toward the Iland of S. Iohn, and entring into the port of S. Germaine, the English men parled with those of the towne, requiring victuals and things needfull to furnish their ship, and complained of the inhabitants of the city of S. Domingo, saying that they came not to doe any harme, but to trade and traffique for their money and merchandise. In this place they had certaine victuals, and for recompence they

gaue and paid them with certain vessels of wrought tinne and other things. And afterward they departed toward Europe, where it is thought they arriued not: for wee neuer heard any more newes of them. Thus farre proceedeth Gonsaluo de Ouiedo, who though it please him to call the captain of this great English ship a rouer, yet it appeareth by the Englishmens owne words, that they came to discouer, and by their traffique for pewter vessel and other wares at the towne of S. Germaine in the Island of S. Iohn de puerto rico, it cannot be denied but that they were furnished with ware for honest traffique and exchange.

According to the two manuscripts in the Archives of the Indies an English vessel was sighted and hailed by a Spanish shipmaster on November 19, 1527, at the island of Mona, between Porto Rico and Hispaniola. The strangers said they were English, and, according to one of the documents, "they told him the king had fitted out that vessel and another to go and discover the land of the Great Khan, but that on the way, they met with a storm, during which they lost sight of their consort and had never seen her again." They added some weird details about a boiling sea towards the south which had forced them to turn about. Then, they said, they had gone towards Newfoundland where they met the Spanish, French, and Portuguese fishing fleets. From there they coasted the shore for four hundred leagues and finally went along the Antilles to San Juan. They wished to report on the West Indies for the King of England, and incidentally take back a cargo of brazil-wood, and so asked for directions to reach Santo Domingo. On November 25 they arrived at that city and recounted substantially the same story, adding that they had been looking for a strait between Greenland and Newfoundland, and had gone as far as 64° north. By mistake or through some misgivings the fort of Santo Domingo fired a shot which crossed the bow of the English ship; the English immediately sailed from the port, landed on the island some leagues down the coast, offered to buy provisions, and, after they were refused, took them and sailed away. Oviedo says it was supposed that the ship was lost. Dr. Williamson enters into a discussion as to whether it was the *Mary of Gilford* or the

Samson that went to Santo Domingo, and comes to the conclusion that the evidence is in favor of the *Samson*, of which no further records exist.

These are all the facts known today of the expedition of John Rut in 1527, the first notice of which appeared in English in the first edition of Halle's chronicle of 1548.

For the sake of clarity I append here a check list of the earliest English Americana:

1509 The shyppe of fooles. (Translated by H. Watson.) *London: Wynkyn de Worde, (July 6th).*

The first mention in English of the newly discovered world. The only known copy is one printed on vellum in the Bibliothèque Nationale.

1509 This present Boke named the shyp of folys of the worlde was translated in the College of saynt mary Otery in the counte of Deuonshire: out of Laten, Frenche and Doche into Englysshe tonge by Alexander Barclay Preste. *London: Richard Pynson, (December 14th).*

There are copies in the British Museum, and the Bodleian, Cambridge University, Folger, Huntington, Newberry, and New York Public Libraries, and Worcester Cathedral.

[1511–20] Of the newe lādes and of ye people founde by the messengers of the kynge of Portȳgale named Emanuel. [*Antwerp:*] *John of Doesborough.*

The first book in English to contain an historical account of a voyage to America. The only perfect copy known is in the British Museum; imperfect copies are in the Huntington and Bodleian Libraries.

1516 De orde nouo decades et legatio babylonica. (By Peter Martyr Anglerius.) *Alcala: Arnaldus Guillelmus.*

The first book to contain an account of any English voyage to America; the first mention in print of Sebastian Cabot; the first account of Sebastian Cabot's expedition of 1508–9. There are copies in most large libraries of Americana.

[1517] The Shyppe of fooles of this worlde. *London: Wynkyn de Worde.*

The only known copies are those in the British Museum, Chatsworth and the Bodleian Libraries, all of which are imperfect.

[1519 –25] A new interlude and a mery of the nature of the iiij elementes. [*London: John Rastell.*]

The first book of English authorship to mention America. Only a single imperfect copy in the British Museum is known.

1530 De Orbe Nouo Petri Martyris ab Angleria Mediolanensis Protonotarij Cesaris senatoris decades. *Alcala: Michael d'Eguia.*

Copies are in the British Museum and the John Carter Brown, Huntington, and New York Public Libraries, and probably other large collections of Americana.

1532 Extraict ov Recveil des Isles nouuellemēt trouuees en la grand mer Oceane ou temps du roy Despaigne Fernād & Elizabeth sa femme, faict premierement en latin par Pierre Martyr de Millan, & depuis translate en languaige francoys. *Paris: Simon de Colines.*

First appearance in French of any account of an English voyage to America. There are copies in most large libraries of Americana.

1533 De morbo gallico. (By Ulrich von Hutten, translated by T. Paynell.) *London: Thomas Berthelet.*

There is a reference to the island of Hispaniola in America as the source of guaiacum wood, Hutten's specific for syphilis. Copies are recorded only in the British Museum and the Cambridge University, Bodleian, Hunterian Museum (Glasgow) and Huntington (title-page in facsimile) Libraries.

1533 Petri Martyris ab Angleria Mediolanen. Oratoris clarissimi, Fernandi & Helisabeth Hispaniarum quondam regum à consilijs, de rebus Oceanicis & Orbe nouo decades tres. *Basle: Johannes Bebelius.*

Copies are in the British Museum, and the John Carter Brown, Huntington, H. V. Jones, William L. Clements, and New York Public Libraries, and probably in other large collections of Americana.

1534 Svmmario de la Generale Historia de l'Indie Occidentali Cavato da Libri Scritti dal Signor Don Pietro Martyre del Consiglio delle Indie della Maesta de l'Imperadore, et da molte altre Particvlari Relationi. *Venice.*

First appearance in Italian of any English voyage to America. Copies are in the British Museum, and the John Carter Brown, Huntington, Ayer, and New York Public Libraries, and probably in other large collections of Americana.

1535 La historia general delas Indias. (By Gonzalo Fernandez de Oviedo y Valdes.) *Seville: Juan Cromberger.*

First printed mention of the voyage of John Rut to America in 1527. There are copies in most large libraries of Americana.

1536 Of the Wood called Gvaiacvm, that healeth the Frenche Pockes, and also helpeth the goute in the feete, the stoone, the palsey, lepree, dropsy, fallynge euyll, and other dyseases. (By Ulrich von Hutten, translated by T. Paynell.) *London: Thomas Berthelet.*

Copies are recorded only in the British Museum and Huntington Libraries. This is the second English edition of *De morbo gallico.*

1539 Of the VVood called Gvaiacvm, that healeth the Frenche Pockes, and also helpeth the goute in the feete, the stoone, the palsey, lepree, dropsy, fallynge euyll, and other dyseases. *London: Thomas Berthelet.*

Copies are recorded in the British Museum and the Chapin Library.

An edition of this date with the same wording on the title-page and the same imprint but set in the type of Peter Treveris, not recorded in the Short-Title Catalogue, is now in the British Museum, this apparently being the only known copy.

1540 Of the wood called gvaiacvm, that healeth the frenche pockes, and also helpeth the goute in the feete, the stone, palsey, lepre, dropsy, fallynge euyll, and other diseses. Made in latyn by Ulrich Hutten Knyght, and translated into englysh by Thomas Paynel. *London: Thomas Berthelet.*

Copies are recorded in the British Museum, Bodleian (lacking title-page), American Academy of Medicine and the Huntington Libraries.

[1544] Declaratio Chartae Novae Navigatoriae Domini Almirantis. [*Antwerp.*]

First printed reference to the discovery of North America by John Cabot; the first mention of John Cabot in print. The only known copy is in the Huntington Library.

1547 Coronica delas Indias. La hystoria general de las Indias agora nueuamente impressa corregida y emendada. (By Oviedo.) *Salamanca: Juan de Junta.*

There are copies in most large libraries of Americana.

1548 The Vnion of the two noble and illustrate (another issue *illustre*) famelies of Lancastre & Yorke, beeyng long in continual discension for the croune of this noble realme. (By Edward Halle.) *London: Richard Grafton.*

FIRST PRINTED ACCOUNT IN ENGLISH OF A COMPLETED ENGLISH VOYAGE TO AMERICA; first account in English of the voyage of John Rut. Copies are in most large libraries of early English literature.

1550 The Vnion of the two noble and illustre families of Lancastre & Yorke. *London: [Richard Jugge for] Richard Grafton.*

Copies are in most large libraries of early English literature.

1550 Primo Volvme delle Navigationi et Viaggi nel qval si contiene la Descrittione dell 'Africa, Et del paese del Prete Ianni con uiaggi, dal mar Rosso a Calicut, & infin all'isole Molucche, dove nascono le Spetiere, Et la Nauigatione attorno il mondo. (By Giambattista Ramusio.) *Venice: the Heirs of Lucantonio Giunti.*

With an account of Sebastian Cabot's expedition of 1508–9, and other references to the Cabots. Copies are not common.

1552 A Lytel treatyse of Astronomy, declarying the leape yere, and what is the cause thereof, and howe to knowe Saynte Mathies day for euer, with the maruelous mocion of the sonne. (By Anthony Askham.) *London: William Powell.*

With a reference to America. There are only three copies of this work known, one in the Huntington Library, and others in the collection of The Rosenbach Company and Mr. Gustavus Wynn Cook.

1552 La istoria de las Indias, y conquista de Mexico. (By Francisco Lopez de Gomara.) *Saragossa: Augustin Millan.*

With a reference to Sebastian Cabot's voyage of 1508–9. The only copy of this edition known in the United States is in the H. V. Jones Library. Another copy is in the collection of Señor Juan Canter of Buenos Aires, and five copies are in Europe.

1553 A treatyse of the newe India, with other new founde landes and Ilandes, aswell eastwarde as westwarde, as they are knowen and found in these oure dayes, after the descripcion of Sebastian Munster in his boke of universall Cosmographie. (Translated by Richard Eden.) *London: Edward Sutton.*

First book in English to mention Sebastian Cabot. Only copies in the British Museum, and the John Carter Brown, William L. Clements, H. V. Jones, and New York Public Libraries are known.

1553 Primera y segunda parte dela historia general de las Indias con todo el descubrimiento y cosas notables que han acaecido dende que se ganaron ata el año de 1551. (By Francisco Lopez de Gomara.) *Saragossa: Agustin Millan.*

With an account of Sebastian Cabot's expedition of 1508–9. Copies are in most large libraries of Americana.

1553 Primera y secvnda Parte de la historia general de las Indias. *Medina del Campo: Guillermo de Millis.*

Copies are in most large libraries of Americana.

1554 Primo volume, & Seconda editione Delle Navigationi et Viaggi in molti lvoghi corretta, et ampliata. *Venice: Stamperia de Giunti.*

Copies are in most large libraries of Americana.

1554 La Historia general delas Indias, con todos los descubrimientos, y cosas notables que han acaescido enellas, dende que se ganaron hasta agora, escrita por Francisco Lopez de Gomara, clerigo. *Antwerp: Juan Bellero.*

Copies are in most large libraries of Americana. In 1554 were issued many editions of Gomara, including those of Martin Nucio of Antwerp, Juan Steelsio of Antwerp, Augustin Millan of Saragossa, and Pedro Bernuz of Saragossa, too numerous to list separately.

1555 The Decades of the newe worlde or west India, Conteynyng the nauigations and conquestes of the Spanyardes, with the particular description of the moste ryche and large landes and Ilandes lately founde in the west Ocean perteynyng to the inheritaunce of the kinges of Spayne. (Translated by Richard Eden.) *London: R. Jugge* (other issues, *W. Seres, E. Sutton, and R. Toye*) *in aedibus Guilhelmi Powell.*

First collection of voyages to America to be printed in English; first account in English of Sebastian Cabot's expedition of 1508–9. Copies are in most large libraries of Americana.

1555 Historia di Mexico, et qvando si discoperse la Nvova Hispagna, conqvistata per l'illvstriss. et ualoroso Principe. Don Ferdinando Cortes Marchese del Valle. Scritta per Francesco Lopez de Gomara in lingua Spagnuola, & Tradotta nel Volgare Italiano per Avgvstino de Cravaliz. *Rome: Valerio & Luigi Dorici fratelli.*

Copies are in most large libraries of Americana.

1556 Terzo Volvme delle Navigationi et Viaggi nel qvale si contengono Le Nauigationi al Mondo Nuouo, alli Antichi incognito, fatte da Don Christoforo Colombo Genouese, che fu il Primo à scopirlo a i Re Catholici, detto hora le Indie occidentali, con gli acquisti fatti da lui, Et accresciuti poi da Fernando Cortese, da Francesco Pizzarro, & altri valorosi Capitani, in diuerse parti delle dette Indie, in nome della Ces. Maes. *Venice: Stamperia de Giunti.*

With a further account of Sebastian Cabot's expedition of 1508–9. Copies are in most large libraries of Americana.

1556 Dos Libros de Cosmographia Compuestos nueuamente por Hieronymo Giraua Tarragones. *Milan: Juan Antonio Castellon.*

With a reference to Sebastian Cabot's expedition of 1508–9. There are copies in the British Museum, and the John Carter Brown Library, and the collection of The Rosenbach Company, and probably but very few others in existence.

1556 L'Histoire natvrelle et generalle des Indes, Isles, et Terre Ferme de la grand Mer Oceane. Tradvicte de Castillan en Francois. (Translated by Jean Poleur.) *Paris: Michel de Vascosan.*

Copies are in most large libraries of Americana.

RESEARCHES IN EARLY CATHOLIC AMERICANA*

By WILFRID PARSONS, *S. J.*

THIS paper is very largely the story of an attic. It is no small attic, being 200 feet long and 80 feet wide. It contains in all perhaps 80,000 books on old-fashioned shelves, up under the roof of one of the college buildings at Georgetown University. It is not, then, a regular attic, but the overflow from a crowded college library which must perforce push its little-used books upstairs as the newcomers arrive for weekly and daily use.

It is, however, a remarkable attic, for all that. In it I found the two small volumes of the *Federalist* of 1788, the first edition; and also two copies of the 1749 Boston edition (called the "sixth") of William Penn's *No Cross No Crown.* Many another early book was found hiding there, and the possibility of some serious work in a definite field began to dawn on me. It was thus that there began to come back into a special place of honor some hundreds of volumes which for generations had quietly reposed on a forgotten shelf. It was in fact, worth while seeing if all or nearly all of the books listed in Rev. Joseph Maria Finotti's *Bibliographia Catholica Americana* (1872) might not be rounded up.

This search was a fitting one, for Finotti himself had once for some few years in the fifties been librarian of this very library, and his hand-written catalogue of part of it is still extant. Moreover, when he died far away from Georgetown, his books were

* Read at the Chicago meeting, December 29, 1938.

sold at auction by Gilmary Shea,[1] and not a few of them found their way down to the Georgetown shelves.

The total results were interesting. Of the 295 titles listed by him for the years preceding 1821, I gathered together in the Riggs Memorial Library no less than 251; but I also found 48 of which he did not know the existence. When I recounted my preliminary adventures to Mr. Thomas F. Meehan, the venerable editor of the publications of the United States Catholic Historical Association (New York), he assured me that it was his conviction that if the search were pursued in other libraries it might be found that Finotti in his time had only scratched the surface. There was another library which in my early days I had haunted, and I knew that it also was rich in the field. This was at Woodstock College in Maryland, the theological seminary of the Jesuits in the eastern states. One of its former librarians, Father Charles Piccirillo, S. J., had been a close friend of Finotti in his day, and tradition had it that he had conceived the ambition of putting on his library shelves all the volumes which Finotti had listed. Sure enough, he had nearly succeeded, but he also had added some eighty others which were neither in Finotti nor at Georgetown.

This discovery led to another famous old Maryland library, that of St. Mary's Seminary, now at Roland Park, Maryland. There the librarian, Father Philip J. Blanc, S. S., at my request, put his helpers to work, and they had the same experience: they listed eighty-eight more titles which Finotti had not known.

Here, then, were three libraries each over a hundred years old, which among them had yielded two hundred titles not hitherto listed. It was quite probable that Mr. Meehan was entirely right, and that it was high time that the work be undertaken anew.

[1] The printed catalogue of this sale is in the Riggs Memorial Library, Georgetown University. [The library was sold by Bangs, Oct. 16, 1879 (1492 lots) and March 1, 1880 (353 lots). Catalogues of both parts are in AAS, BPL and NYPL while HSP and O.H. Teisberg have the first part, the latter copy being priced.—Ed.]

The trail then led me into the files of old Catholic newspapers in the Riggs Library (which, incidentally, resulted in the publication of a check list of that remarkable collection).[2] Here were advertisements galore of books, some of which apparently neither Finotti nor any librarian had ever found.

Later in the Georgetown Archives, among the John Gilmary Shea papers, I found that first Finotti and then Shea himself[3] had done some spade-work on a new edition but had then abandoned it.

What was called for now was evidently not a new edition of Finotti, but a new work, in which the listing might even be carried on to a later date and according to the more exacting standards of modern library science. After consultation with Mr. Valta Parma, of the Library of Congress, and Douglas McMurtrie, the year 1830 seemed a suitable one, for beyond that we ran into the very copious controversial literature which would stretch the work beyond all reasonable bounds. The Riggs Library yielded several hundred titles in the additional decade. I was quite willing to leave to other hands the bibliography of those later years. For the definition of Catholic Americana, I adopted the same as that used by Finotti: that is, any book written by a Catholic and published in the territory of the present United States.

A mimeographed list of what had been discovered was then mailed to other libraries, and two dozen librarians had on their hands another of those dire tasks to be performed in a field of which they knew little and cared less and for the benefit of some unknown of whom they had never heard. It was then that I learned at first hand of the tie that binds bookmen together and makes them do things for each other which men in other pursuits would never dream of doing for nothing. Besides a con-

[2] In *Historical Records and Studies* (U. S. Cath. Hist. Soc.), 28 (Nov. 1937) 237–240.

[3] Finotti's own copy of his work, annotated for a new edition, with further notes by Gilmary Shea, is also in the Riggs Library.

siderable number of additions to my list, I also acquired a healthy and grateful collection of researches into the innate kindness of human nature.

It was thus that Finotti's original list of 295 titles grew to the respectable figure of 678 Catholic items — books, pamphlets, broadsides — published before 1821; and the additional decade brought the total to the number of 1,187. And I have been assured upon the authority of Mr. Valta Parma that, promptly upon the appearance of the book containing this list, new and vast pockets of hitherto unknown Catholic Americana will be discovered. That, he kindly reminds me, is the usual experience in these matters.

There are dozens of angles in early Catholic Americana which have an extreme interest for bibliographers, and one hardly knows where to commence relating them. I must admit that I was more than surprised to find Archbishop Fénelon's *Dissertation on Pure Love*[4] coming from Andrew Bradford's Sign of the Bible in 1738 and again from Christopher Saur in 1750.[5] Thomas à Kempis's *Imitation of Christ*, also from Christopher Saur, was not so much a surprise, for that book is a universal treasure; but the 1749 Saur edition is an abridgement "By a Female Hand," which is a curiosity, to say the least.[6] Likewise the *Utopia* of Sir Thomas, now St. Thomas, More appeared in Philadelphia in 1753,[7] but that is also a universal possession, though it does not seem to have been published again for another

[4] The Archbishop of Cambray's *Dissertation on Pure Love* . . . London Printed, and re-printed by Andrew Bradford at the Sign of the Bible, in Front-Street, Philadelphia, MDCCXXXVIII. Pp. xcvi+144.

[5] The Archbishop of Cambray's *Dissertation on Pure Love* . . . London Printed and re-printed by Christopher Sowr at Germantown, 1750. Pp. xcvii+120.

[6] *The Christian's Pattern . . . being an Abridgement of the works of Thomas a kempis By a Female Hand.* London, printed M.DCC.XLIV. Germantown: Reprinted by Christopher Sowr. 1749. Pp. 278.

[7] *The Commonwealth of Utopia* . . . Written by the Right Honorable Sir Thomas Moore [!] . . . London printed. Philadelphia: Reprinted and sold by James Chattin, in Church-alley. 1753. Pp. 126.

century. A more precious and recondite gem is St. Bernard's *Hymn to the Holy Jesus*, which is a translation of his famous hymn *Jesu Dulcis Memoria*, and which was published in eight pages by B. Green in Boston in 1744.[8]

But these are what we may call the accidents, though precious ones, of very early Catholic Americana. The epoch of Catholic publishing properly so called begins on the eve of the Revolution in Philadelphia, where the tolerance of the Quakers had allowed a flourishing Catholic colony around old St. Joseph's Church in Willing's Alley. Father Robert Molyneux, I am persuaded, was the publisher of a precious little book sometime between 1773 and 1774: it was Bishop Challoner's famous *Garden of the Soul*, and Joseph Crukshank was the printer.[9] I have so far located only three copies of this book, at Georgetown, in the Newberry and the William L. Clements libraries. Almost immediately after this, Robert Bell printed "for the subscribers" *A Manual of Catholic Prayers*, which I believe was also the work of Molyneux, who was at that time the only Catholic pastor in town.[10] This, too, seems to have survived in only three copies, one at Georgetown, one at the Newberry Library here in Chicago, and the third, as it happens, an heirloom in my own family.

At this point, however, we run into one of those puzzles which are at once the anguish and the delight of bibliographers. In one of his letters in 1785 to Bishop John Carroll, Father Molyneux says: "There's now printing a Spelling Primer with a Cath. Catechism annexed; it is the short abridgement wch. I had printed some years ago by Bell."[11] Where are those two cate-

[8] *A Hymn of St. Bernard's to the Holy Jesus.* Boston: Printed by B. Green and comp. . . . 1744. Pp. 8.

[9] *The Garden of the Soul* . . . The Seventh Edition, corrected . . . London: Printed. Philadelphia: Re-printed, by Joseph Crukshank. n.d. (1773?). Pp. 362.

[10] *A Manual of Catholic Prayers* . . . Philadelphia. Printer for the subscribers, by Robert Bell . . . 1774. Pp. 272.

[11] Molyneux to Carroll, Dec. 27, 1785, in *Amer. Cath. Hist. Researches*, 29, 268. Evans (19967) lists a title of this, but gives no location.

chisms now — that of 1785–1786 printed by Spotswood, and that of some years earlier by Bell? Nobody has ever located one. Like prayer books, catechisms are not library books, to be preserved on shelves. They wear out by use, and the survival of even one for a century is a sort of miracle. Another catechism was printed in New York in 1788, and I have not seen a copy of this one either.

The earliest Catholic catechism I have located is the so-called Carroll catechism,[12] "printed at Georgetown (Potowmack)" in 1793 by James Doyle, who with his brother Alexander, was the publisher of the *Georgetown Weekly Ledger*. This is called the "twelfth edition," no doubt following an eleventh edition published in Ireland (or perhaps the undiscovered New York 1788 edition) and in Baltimore in 1795 the "thirteenth edition" was printed for Archbishop Carroll by Samuel Sower.[13] Of these catechisms only two copies of the first, one at Georgetown and one at St. Mary's Seminary, and of the second, only one, at Woodstock College, as far as I have found, have survived. In all a series of twenty-five different catechisms in English has been established as having appeared before 1831, besides eight in French and three in German. Two catechisms in English published in 1827–1829 in Charleston, South Carolina, by Bishop John England, and one in Boston in 1828 by Bishop Fenwick have also not been located and are known only by advertisements in Catholic newspapers. They still await the ecstasy of discovery by some happy collector. Another, the Bardstown (Kentucky) catechism of 1825,[14] was found by me in a high school library in New York, and was unknown to even so indefatigable

[12] *A Short Abridgement of Christian Doctrine* . . . Georgetown: Printed by James Doyle. M.DCC.XCIII. Pp. 40.

[13] *A Short Abridgement of Christian Doctrine* . . . Baltimore: Printed by Samuel Sower, 1795. Pp. 54.

[14] *Catechism of the Diocess of Bardstown* . . . Printed by N. Wickliffe and Bailey. Bardstown, Ky. 1825. Pp. 154.

a Kentucky researcher as Douglas McMurtrie. One of the French catechisms, published in New Orleans in 1764 also yet remains to be discovered.

Also to be listed among the known but missing is another little early prayer book called *The Devout Christian's Vade Mecum*, and it was published in Philadelphia by Mathew Carey in 1789. All we know of it is from an advertisement in another small volume published that same year by the same doughty pamphleteer and publisher: "Philadelphia, October 12, 1789. Just published by M. Carey." This is on the last page of Carey's first Catholic publication, *The True Principles of a Catholic*, by Bishop Challoner.[15] Father Molyneux in his letters mentions the *Vade Mecum*, but no modern apparently has ever seen one. Another edition of it came from Carey in 1797, the only copies of which I know are at the Library of Congress and the Huntington Library at San Marino, California.

There is one series of publications which contains memorable surprises. That is the line of Catholic directories, or yearly almanacs. The first, called *The Laity's Directory*, was published by Matthew Field in New York in 1817.[16] Only one copy of this little publication, despite diligent search and publicity over a period of seventy-five years, has ever been uncovered. It is in the Riggs Library at Georgetown, and has an interesting history. Finotti's book-plate in it, according to his quaint custom, records that he paid five dollars for it in 1852. On Finotti's death it passed to John Gilmary Shea, who pasted his own book-plate partly over Finotti's. On Shea's death when his library was bought from his heirs by Georgetown University, it passed to the Riggs Library, where it now reposes in lonely grandeur.

The second *Laity's Directory* was published by William H.

[15] *The True Principles of a Catholic.* By Bishop Chalenor [sic] .... Philadelphia: Mathew Carey. M.DCC.LXXXIX. Pp. 12.

[16] *The Laity's Directory to the Church Services for the Year of Our Lord 1817* ... New York: Published and sold by M. Field ... 1817.

Creagh in New York in 1822.[17] It is not quite so rare as the earlier one, and curiously enough, the Riggs Library has four copies of it. The next directory came out in 1833, and it has appeared every year since, under varied auspices.

A most interesting early Catholic item of another kind is a book of sacred music: *A Compilation of the Litanies, Vesper Hymns, and Anthems as they are sung in the Catholic Church*, published by John Aitken in Philadelphia in 1787. The title-page and the music are engraved. It is probably one of Father Molyneux's enterprises, though I can find no mention of it in his correspondence.

More in the line of pure curiosities are the four lucubrations of the eccentric Abbé Claude Florent Bouchard de la Poterie, who lived in Boston in 1789 as that city's first Catholic parish priest and came into violent collision with Bishop John Carroll. His publications are the result of that serio-comic incident.[18]

Every year in the Catholic Church a little publication comes out, which is called for short the *Ordo*. It is an index to the Breviary and the Missal and contains daily directions for the various liturgical offices and Masses during the following year. We know that this publication has an unbroken line of issue in the United States of one hundred and forty-four years, the first *Ordo Divini Officii*, printed by John Hayes[19] having appeared in Baltimore in 1794 and presumably every year since then. I say *presumably*, for no one has ever got together the whole series from the beginning. Strangely enough, the best early runs of the publication seem to be in the Library of Congress and the

[17] *The Laity's Directory to the Church Service for the Year of Our Lord* M,DCCC,-XXII . . . New York: published by William H. Creagh . . . 1822.

[18] The four Poterie items are: *Pastoral Letters*; *To the Publick* (two addresses on his Church) all three printed in Boston: and, *The Resurrection of Laurent Ricci* . . . Printed in Philadelphia, 1789. Pp. 28. Evans (21707) lists a Boston edition of the last named.

[19] *Ordo Divini Officii Recitandi Missaeque celebrandae . . . Pro Anno* MDCCXCV. Baltimori: Typis Johannis Hayes . . . n.d. [1794]. Pp. 35.

Boston Athenaeum. No Catholic librarian, apparently, ever thought of preserving complete sets, and each individual priest who possessed one would naturally throw his away at the end of the year. Here is still another field of search for the bibliographer.

One of the more important tasks in this search has been to establish the complete list of the publications of John Carroll, the first Catholic Bishop in the United States. Well known, of course, was his *Address to the Roman Catholics of the United States*, published at Annapolis in 1784,[20] and his *Discourse on General Washington*, delivered on that famous February 22, 1800, when at the request of Congress, so many other clergymen gave similar sermons.[21] The *Address* was the first piece written by an American Catholic and printed in this country; it was also the first controversial work from the side of the Catholics here. It was written in answer to an attack on the Catholic Church launched by Charles H. Wharton, his kinsman, who while still a Catholic priest wrote the *Poetical Epistle to George Washington*, first published at Annapolis in 1779, and later at Providence, Rhode Island, in 1781, and Springfield, Massachusetts, in 1782. The exchange gave rise to a not inconsiderable literature here and abroad, which it was an interesting task to accumulate and list.

Besides these two Carroll items, however, other pieces of purely historical interest were Carroll's various pastoral letters printed between 1785, when he was made head of the Catholic Church here, and his death in 1815. No library has ever got together all of these, nor to my knowledge had any historian ever listed them. In all, twenty-four pieces from him were finally discovered to have been published, but by no means all actually located. Most of them are, of course, broadsides or broadsheets.

[20] *An Address to the Roman Catholics of the United States of America by a Catholic Clergyman.* Annapolis: Printed by Frederick Green M.DCC.LXXIV. Pp. 116.

[21] *A Discourse on General Washington . . . Feb. 22, 1800.* By the right Rev. Bishop Carroll. Baltimore: Printed by Warner and Hanna. Pp. 24.

Some are at Georgetown, some at St. Mary's Seminary, some at Woodstock College, some at the University of Notre Dame. The texts of several others, however, were found in manuscript in the Georgetown University Archives among the Shea Transcripts; but Dr. Shea unfortunately has left no record of where he had found them when he transcribed them. Here is still a task that remains for the historical researcher.

In this connection a precious little historical piece that lies at the beginnings of Catholicism in this country is *A Short Account of the Establishment of the New See of Baltimore in Maryland*, published by Carey, Stewart & Co., in Philadelphia in 1791.[22] This booklet of twenty pages is the primal historical printed document of Catholicism in the United States, and I have found no copies of it outside of Georgetown and Woodstock. The three Georgetown copies stand side by side with copies of the editions published in London in 1790 and Dublin in 1791.

By far the greater number of the books listed before 1830 are works reprinted or translated from European productions. Our early Catholic missionaries were not great writers, and those original books which they did produce were occasional works of controversy, and even these came few and far between in those early days. The next after the Carroll-Wharton dispute was the series of open letters exchanged in the public press between Father John Thayer, a New Englander who had embraced the Catholic faith in Rome, and the Rev. George Lesslie, a minister of Washington, New Hampshire, who took up his challenge in Boston to discuss with him the tenets of the Catholic faith. The first to reprint these letters was Alexander Doyle in Georgetown in 1791.[23] I know of only one copy of this pamphlet and it

[22] The *Short Account*, as well as the *Discourse* included in it are by the Rev. Charles Plowden S.J., an English friend of Carroll. The London edition printed by J. P. Coghlan, the Dublin by P. Wogan.

[23] *Controversy between the Reverend John Thayer, Catholic Missionary, of Boston and the Reverend George Lesslie* . . . Georgetown: (Potowmack) Printed by Alexander Doyle. 1791. Pp. 37.

is in the Riggs Library of Georgetown. Sabin lists one by Alexander Doyle as of 1793, but I have found no copy of it, and Alexander Doyle had died and been succeeded by his brother James the preceding year, 1792. Thayer himself published the controversy in 1793 in enlarged form, probably printed by John Mycall of Newburyport,[24] and Richard Folwell published it again in Philadelphia in 1795.[25] The 1793 edition is quite widespread, but the Folwell edition has survived in two copies only, one at Georgetown and the other at the Newberry.

Another early religious controversy of some interest was that also carried on with a Protestant minister in the public press of Philadelphia by Mathew Carey and a priest named Francis Fleming who shortly after died in the plague. *The Calumnies of Verus*, a reprint of these letters by Johnson and Justice in Philadelphia, appeared in 1791.[26] There are two copies at Georgetown, one at Newberry, and one at the Ridgway in Philadelphia, but I have not been able to locate any other.

Other early controversies which gave rise to original American publications were those carried on by the Rev. Prince Gallitzin in 1816;[27] by Father Roger Baxter in Alexandria in 1817;[28] by the Rev. Anthony Kohlmann on Penance in 1813;[29] and with

[24] The last page of this edition (p. 167) has: "John Thayer, Boston, October 19, 1793."

[25] Folwell's edition follows the New England edition closely. On the controversy, see *Amer. Cath. Hist. Researches*, 17, 159; 18, 41.

[26] *The Calumnies of Verus, or Catholics Vindicated from certain old slanders lately revived* . . . Philadelphia: Printed by Johnson and Justice at Franklin's Head . . . M.DCC.XCII. Pp. 58.

[27] *A Defence of Catholic Principles* . . . By Demetrius A. Gallitzin. Pittsburgh; Printed by S. Engles. 1816. Pp. 144. A Washington edition from Davis & Force appeared the same year.

[28] *The Alexandria Controversy, or A Series of Letters between M. B. and Quaero* . . . Georgetown, D. C. Printed by W. Duffy . . . 1817. Pp. 266. Another edition under the title, *The Controversy between M. B. and Quaero*, was printed in Alexandria by Samuel Snowden in 1818. Pp. 236.

[29] *A True Exposition of the Doctrine of the Catholic Church touching the Sacra-*

the Lutherans in 1817[30] and the Unitarians in 1821;[31] by the Rev. John W. Beschter and the Lutherans in 1818;[32] by Rev. Leonard Edelen in 1819;[33] by George Ironside (famous for his text-books) in 1820;[34] by Bishop David of Louisville in 1821–1823;[35] and the vaious controversies of Bishop John England of Charleston, South Carolina, between 1825 and 1830. Fortunately for the historians of these matters, we possess, I think, everything that was published in these various discussions.

The controversy, of course, which provoked a veritable flood of pamphlets was the long wrangle which divided the Catholics of Philadelphia around the person of the Rev. William Hogan, the pastor of St. Mary's, between the years 1821 and 1824 especially. One of Father Finotti's great achievements was his listing of a large number of these pamphlets, though the whole subject lay outside the scope of his period. It has been possible to supplement his list, however, and we now have eighty-three

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ment of Penance, reprinted from, *The Catholic Question*, an account by William Sampson of the celebrated case on the Seal of Confession in 1813, and printed by Edward Gillespy in New York, 1813, where it appears as an appendix.

[30] *Centurial Jubilee . . . Respectfully dedicated to the Lutheran Synods of New York, Pennsylvania, Maryland . . .* Printed for the Author. 1817. Pp. 72.

[31] *Unitarianism philosophically and theologically examined . . .* By the Rev. Anthony Kohlmann, . . . Washington City: Published by Henry Guegan . . . 1821. Pp. 295.

[32] *"The Blessed Reformation" Martin Luther Portrayed by Himself. . . .* Philadelphia: Published by Bernard Dornin . . . 1818. Pp. 94.

[33] *Faithful Statement of the Correspondence between the Rev. Mr. Brady . . . and the Rev. Leonard Edelen . . .* Washington City: Davis & Force . . . 1819. Pp. 43. The same publishers issued another account the same year under the title, *A Correspondence between Rev. Mr. Brady and Rev. Mr. Edelen. . . .* Pp. 76.

[34] *Observations on Bishop Hobart's Charge . . . in a Letter to that Prelate by George E. Ironside . . .* Washington: Printed by Davis & Force . . . 1820.

[35] *A Series of Letters Addressed to the Rev. William Hawley . . .* Charleston: Printed by Gray & Ellis . . . 1825. Pp. 87. *Thirteen Letters Addressed to the Right Rev. Doctor Bowen . . .* Printed by Jeremiah Dennehy . . . , Charleston, S. C. 1828. Pp. 159. *Seventeen Letters by B. C. . . .* Charleston: Printed by Jeremiah Dennehy . . . 1829. *Six Letters by B. C. . . .* Charleston: Jeremiah Dennehy . . . 1829.

pamphlet titles listed for those four years alone. The list has its importance, for the struggle still awaits a historian who will do justice to it. The battle between the Bishop and the Trustees of St. Mary's really marked a turning-point in the relations between the laity and the clergy in the United States.

Another bibliographical problem which has baffled every researcher since Sabin and Finotti is the tremendous output of Mathew Carey. As a Catholic writer, though not largely on Catholic subjects, Carey merits attention. The difficulty is that he compels too much attention. Mr. Carey had the charming idiosyncracy of writing pamphlets on every conceivable subject, but mostly economic, and within two weeks completely revising and adding to his lucubration, and on more than one occasion bringing out five or six editions within a single year. In number of words he was surely our greatest single producer of the period. Now I do not suppose that any bibliographer will ever be so foolish as to claim that he has made a complete list of Carey's output. But up to 1830 alone I have listed 190 titles including later editions, of Carey's books and pamphlets, many of them unknown to Sabin, and I cannot pretend that the list is complete.

The name of Carey brings up a further nice historical problem, and that was to establish the output and places of business of the early Catholic printers and publishers. The story is too long to detail at this time and place and I have written it out elsewhere. The principal ones were Carey, Bernard Dornin, and Eugene Cummiskey in Philadelphia, though Dornin also published for a time in New York and in Baltimore. One neat little collection is that of the seven titles published by Dornin in New York in 1807–1808. Then of course, there is Fielding Lucas in Baltimore, whose output furnishes the finest bibliographical headache that I know, for he evidently found that his Catholic books, some dozens of them, moved very slowly and so he never deigned to print the date of publication on them so that they would not seem too old when bought some years after publica-

tion. Some few of them contain copyright notices, but not many. The rest of Lucas's books are mere matters of guess-work. Some of Dornin's Baltimore publications bear no date, but he had four successive places of business while he was there, and so it is often possible to place his no-date books within a year or two.

There are many other bibliographical puzzles connected with the printers of Catholic books in those early days, but I forebear to burden you with them or their solution here and now; they have been written elsewhere. Among these are Christopher Talbot in Philadelphia about 1786; the École Économique and Joseph Desnoues in New York from 1810–1821; the series of publishers for the Catholic Church in Baltimore including John Hayes, Michael Duffy, John West Butler, and of course Fielding Lucas, Jr. Two of the most interesting centers of Catholic printing in the early nineteenth century are those of Gabriel Richard in Detroit and Bishop John England in Charleston, South Carolina. But their story has been told before. I have said enough, I think, to show that in this special field there are very many bibliographical problems of the greatest interest and not perhaps without importance.

COMMERCIAL PRINTERS OF SAN FRANCISCO FROM 1851 TO 1880*

By HENRY R. WAGNER

EDWARD C. Kemble, in an article published in the Sacramento *Union* for December 25, 1858, has given us a delightful survey of the introduction of the American Press into California. Kemble, a printer, had come out from New York with Samuel Brannan and his Mormon colony, although himself not a Mormon. Brannan was also a printer, but I do not know that he ever did any actual work in his craft in California, and Kemble himself soon gave up the stick for editorial work. In 1848 Kemble went to the mines, having closed down his newspaper, *The California Star*. Everybody went to the mines and there were no printers or readers left in San Francisco. *The Californian* also suspended about the same time. November 18, 1848, the first number of *The California Star and Californian* was issued, Kemble having secured the ownership of *The Californian*. December 23, the last number was issued and January 4, 1849, the *Alta California*, due for a long and checkered career, made its appearance. Up to this time we only have information about a few printers who worked on these papers: Joseph Dockrill, who was the printer of *The Californian* in Monterey, H. L. Sheldon, John Eager, who had come out with Brannan, and B. F. Foster, who obtained control of *The Californian* in August, 1847. Foster had come out with the New York Volunteers. There was another named W. E. Weaver, or

* Read at the Chicago meeting, December 29, 1938.

W. J. Weaver, who had also come out with the New York Volunteers. When Kemble obtained possession of *The Californian*, Sheldon, Weaver and Foster all departed for the Sandwich Islands. Kemble, however, found a printer by beating up the town and suburbs. When the *Alta* appeared it was owned by Kemble, Edward Gilbert, and George C. Hubbard, all practical printers. Hubbard and Gilbert had both been lieutenants in Stevenson's regiment. Foster afterward came back and worked on the *Alta*.

The rush to California which took place from the East and in fact from all parts of the civilized world when the discovery of gold became known brought any number of printers. Some of them brought presses with them, and by January 1, 1850, *The Pacific News* had been started by Faulkner and Leland. In June, 1849, Edward Conner had brought out the first steam press to California. As the *Alta* proprietors wanted this press, they were obliged to take Conner into partnership in order to obtain it. By some strange proceeding, however, the press, which was a Hoe press, was not used for printing the *Alta* but one made by Taylor & Co. which arrived shortly after the Hoe press. The *Alta*, according to Kemble, had a job office very inferior to that of *The Pacific News* so that the latter got the bulk of the job printing, and as he says "coined money." In 1850 the *Journal of Commerce*, the *San Francisco Herald*, the *California Courier*, and the *Evening Picayune* all saw the light of day, so that at the end of the year there were six daily newspapers in San Francisco, which employed in the neighborhood of fifty printers, according to Kimball's directory issued at the close of that year. At that time the population of San Francisco was estimated to be 30,000 and that of the whole state about 100,000. According to this directory there were three lithographers and wood-engravers in town and five booksellers. Of the fifty printers five were not registered as being employed by any press; presumably they were looking for work, as there is little indication that a job of-

fice, outside the newspaper offices, existed in 1850. Everything then printed that has come down to us was printed at one of the newspaper offices. It is not until February, 1851, that we have a notice of a job office, namely that of Jobson, Sterett, & Painter who printed *The Hombre*. Presumably these men were David Jobson, Benjamin F. Sterett, and Jerome B. Painter. Painter had been a printer on *The Courier*. Sterett had arrived in California December 28, 1849, but his name does not appear in the Kimball directory nor does that of Painter. Nothing more is heard of Jobson but the other two later became well-known printers in San Francisco. At the end of the year 1851 a notice appeared in the *Alta* for December 10 of the publication of a California Hebrew and English almanac by the Albion Job Office. I have not been able to locate the almanac nor have I any further information regarding the concern.

A very curious situation is revealed by the next two directories. The first was issued by A. W. Morgan & Co., and dated September 8, 1852, but had undoubtedly been compiled some months previously. It is very incomplete and the next, issued by James M. Parker, at the end of the year and really a directory for 1853 is very much better. Only twenty-seven printers are listed in the Morgan directory, of whom five only had been in Kimball's. In Parker's directory there are some seventy-five printers including most of those found in Morgan's. Only seven had been listed in the Kimball directory. One may well ask what had become of all of Kimball's printers of 1850? The natural inference would be that they had gone to some of the interior towns, such as Sacramento, Stockton, Sonora, Marysville, San Jose, Benecia, Nevada City, Los Angeles, or San Diego to work on some of the newspapers which were started in those places before June, 1851. A few of them had become publishers of some of these newspapers, but we have little information about the journeymen who worked on them. In Culver's Sacramento directory, issued in January, 1851, I do not

find the name of a single one of these lost individuals nor in the Stockton directory of 1852, nor again in the first Marysville directory of 1853. If we had the records of some of the other towns we might perhaps locate a few of them, but my impression is that most of them had returned to the East. In the fall of 1850 the newspaper proprietors attempted to reduce the pay of printers from $2.00 per one thousand ems to $1.50. The printers therefore organized a typographical union and in 1851 became engaged in a struggle with the newspapers over the rates of pay. Finally, in 1852, the matter came to a head and the *Alta* discharged its old employees and hired some new ones, the new ones evidently being those who appear in Parker's directory for that year. The men had been earning about $16.00 per day and many of them must have saved sufficient money to carry back to their homes in the East quite satisfactory sums. The *Alta* of May 17, 1852, has an interesting little editorial on this subject. After quoting Dr. Gunn, who was giving up the Sonora *Herald*, which he owned, because he said papers could only pay if the proprietors did their own work, the *Alta* adds that the only people who had made money out of newspapers in the past three years were the employees in the mechanical office.

In the meantime, new printers kept coming to California. There was a steady stream of new job printers, beginning in 1854 and continuing for years. In 1858 sixteen job offices were operating in San Francisco and in 1861 twenty, eight of which were using power presses. By 1870 the number had reached fifty-four, by 1874, fifty-eight, and by 1880 there were sixty-four. This seems to have been about the maximum, and for some of these nothing printed is known to me. By 1854 the population of San Francisco was probably about 50,000, while that of the state must have approximated 400,000. The number of daily newspapers in San Francisco had decreased to about six, but the mining districts were overrun with them. By 1856 the number of dailies had increased to fifteen. When Kemble wrote

at the end of 1858, eighty-nine newspapers and periodicals were being published in forty-four places in the state, nineteen of which were dailies. He states that up to that time 324 newspapers and periodicals at one time or another had been in existence in the state. In 1880 twenty-one dailies were being published in San Francisco alone. Altogether, the activity of the newspaper press was remarkable. Papers were started, ran a few weeks or a month, and then died. Others shortly passed into other hands and then again in no long time into those of still others. Even the *Alta* changed hands a number of times before it finally rested for a long period in those of Frederick MacCrellish & Co.

Two early job offices are noticeable, the Franklin Printing Office, and Monson, Haswell & Co., known as the Commercial Job Printing Office. Both these offices continued in operation for a long time under different owners. The first must have been organized at the end of 1851 or the early part of 1852 by C. F. Paul & Co., although the *Pacific Union Printer* for November, 1893, says it was begun in 1850, on Montgomery Street near Jackson. Paul did not continue his association with it very long. There were three or four other printers in the concern, the most notable being Frank Eastman, whom I do not find associated with it before December, 1853, and who gradually bought out his partners. In 1858 he seems to have been the sole owner, although in 1855 the firm had been Williams & Eastman. In 1862 one publication that I have seen was issued by Eastman & Godfrey. In the eighties the firm was Frank Eastman & Co. or Eastman & Co. Eastman having died in 1882, Michael Shannon, who had been a partner since 1872, became the owner. The Eastman Printing Co. is still in existence. (Eastman published quite a few of the anniversary orations of the Society of California Pioneers.)

The other concern, headed by Burdett H. Monson, also began about the first part of 1852. At that time Abel Whitton was

one of his partners and the concern was known as Monson, Whitton & Co. They had a power press and sometimes used the Commercial Power Presses as the name of their office. This partnership did not last very long as in July or August Monson had another partner, John C. Haswell, and the firm was known as Monson, Haswell & Co. They were printing in 1852 and 1853 and probably the early part of 1854, although I have seen nothing of theirs with that date on it. In an advertisement in the *Golden Era* of September 10, 1854, Monson had a new partner, Thomas B. Valentine, and the firm's name was Monson & Valentine and then Monson, Valentine & Co. In 1858 the name of the firm was changed to S. D. Valentine & Son and then to Valentine & Co., but Monson seems still to have been a partner. In 1863 the name was changed to Francis-Valentine & Co., D. B. Francis having bought out T. B. Valentine. Under this name and as Francis & Valentine, and after 1879 as Francis, Valentine & Co., the business had a long life, certainly until after 1890; in fact, the Francis-Valentine Co. is still in existence. T. B. Valentine died October 27, 1896, a rich man. Monson & Co. were printing in 1877 to 1880.

After Whitton parted company with Monson he formed a partnership in 1852 with James W. Towne, and as Whitton, Towne & Co. they operated until 1858. From 1854 to 1856 they published *The Oriental*, a monthly. Their press was known as the Excelsior Press and in 1858 Jacob Bacon was a member of the firm. In that year Towne went to Victoria, British Columbia, and started the *Victoria Gazette* in June. In 1859 the *Gazette* was printed by A. Whitton & Co. Towne had returned to San Francisco and the firm had been dissolved. In 1858 he organized the firm of Towne & Bacon. Whitton, who had also returned to San Francisco in 1860, was alone, but in 1861 he was operating under the name of Whitton, Waters & Co. In 1862 he was a compositor on the *Bulletin* and the firm was Waters & Co. This concern continued for several years under that name and as

Waters, Newhoff & Co. Charles G. Dunn was also a member of the firm. Towne & Bacon was one of the most prominent firms of printers from 1858 to 1868, when Towne joined Blake & Moffitt in the paper business, and the firm name was changed to Bacon & Co. Under this name the office printed numerous books and pamphlets until sometime in the nineties or even possibly later. Bacon died April 15, 1895.

Just how the commercial press lived is at first not easy to see. To be sure a great deal of what was turned out was of an ephemeral nature and has necessarily disappeared; but what remains is no great quantity, especially when we consider how it must have been divided up among so many printers. The litigation growing out of the Mexican land grants provided, however, a large source of income. I have heard that the competition for this business was so great that lawyers' briefs in editions of twenty-five copies were printed for $1.00 per page. Beginning with 1860 the Comstock excitement deluged printers with work, and this continued for some time. In the late seventies the question of amateur printers came to the fore. The *Pacific Printer* in January, 1877, claimed that there were one hundred boy printers in San Francisco, most of whom were competing for job business. The number also of boys' magazines printed in San Francisco about the same time was quite astounding. Naturally, the best-known books, or those which had some circulation, are still in existence in considerable numbers. I recently saw what purports to be a third edition, the sixteenth thousand of *The Dance of Death*, published in 1877 and printed by Bosqui & Co. We also know that in 1857 Whitton, Towne & Co. printed 5,000 copies of Stratton's *Life Among the Indians* and in the same year a second edition.

Recently the W. P. A. has published in Oakland in mimeographed form a list of books on the drama, fiction, and poetry that have been printed in California or by Californians. Necessarily such a list cannot be complete, but a study of it leads us to

some rather curious results. Hardly a work of pure fiction, or I should rather say, a novel, was published in California prior to 1880. Several books classed as fiction appeared, but they were mostly fantastic tales or collections of short stories. The output of California fiction in the East, however, was rather important. On the other hand, aside from anthologies, we find that most of the California poetry was printed in California. The output of the drama was too insignificant for mention during those early years, or at least very little of it has survived. A goodly portion of everything produced was printed on newspaper presses, all of which maintained extensive job offices.

Booksellers had become almost as numerous as printers, and some of these who dated back to 1850, published most of the books printed in California. None of them, until we reach Anton Roman, in the sixties, could be called a publisher. Their publishing activities were only spasmodic. Roman, a Bavarian, set up a real publishing business in California. He came to San Francisco in December, 1851, from northern California with over one hundred ounces of gold, which he had obtained by mining. He tells us in his reminiscences of Bret Harte, that he went to Burgess, Gilbert & Still's bookstore on the Old Plaza and bought a lot of books which he apparently took back to the north and sold there, probably at Yreka. In 1859 he established himself permanently in San Francisco as a bookseller. The earliest book I have found printed for him was *The Still Hour* by Austin Phelps, which appeared in 1860, but from that time on he was very active. In 1868 he started *The Overland*, which he sold in the following year to John H. Carmany & Co. Carmany had published the *Commercial Herald*, the *Stock Report* and other such sheets, having previously been a printer with Towne & Bacon from 1859 to 1862. Among those who printed books for Roman were Edward Bosqui, William M. Cubery & Co., Bacon & Co., B. F. Sterett, and Joseph Winterburn & Co. Of these it is necessary to say a few words.

Bosqui was born in Montreal in 1832. His grandfather was a Frenchman who came to Canada from Marseilles in 1804. His mother was Scottish. For a while when he was a boy he worked in a bookstore, and that, perhaps, was the origin of his subsequent interest in books. He came to California in July, 1850, and went to work for Palmer, Cox, & Co. After a short touch of mining fever, which took him to Mariposa, he came back to San Francisco just after the fire of 1851. He continued to work for Palmer, Cox & Co., and became a rather confidential employee for them. Palmer became Fremont's agent in California and in this way Bosqui also became connected with the Fremonts. The Palmer bank closed in 1858 and, after functioning as a real estate agent, he got a job in the Collector's office in 1861, and went to Washington on some business in 1862 for him. In company with Henry Lawrence and with money borrowed from W. C. Ralston's bank, he bought a bindery from Alexander Buswell in 1863; but soon sold it and then bought the bindery of a German named Froedel. In November he established the business of Edward Bosqui & Co.; probably Lawrence was a partner. In 1864 he began printing and between that date and 1877 was one of the most active in the business in San Francisco. In 1877 chromolithographic engraving and printing was added, and from that time on this was the principal part of the buisness. The firm made a specialty of high-class label work, and this continued up to the time of the fire in 1906, when Mr. Bosqui retired from business. The E. L. Bosqui Printing Co. is still in existence in San Francisco; but this concern was not formed until two years after the fire, and it no longer prints books. Bosqui died in 1917. In 1904 he published his *Memoirs* from which most of the preceding information has been taken. For a man in the printing business as long as he was, he has very little to say about it in his book. Of all the printers who were active from 1860 to 1875 he was probably the best. He soon attained a reputation for artistic printing which was enhanced when he embarked on litho-

graphic work. His book, *Grapes and Grapevines in California*, was lauded to the skies when it appeared in 1877, and it really is a very fine example of chromo-lithography.

Benjamin Franklin Sterett appeared upon the scene as early as 1851, as a member of a job printing concern. He began printing on his own account in 1854. Later he was a partner of W. M. Cubery for a year or two, and then continued as B. F. Sterett & Co., and the Sterett Printing Co. until the nineties. He died June 4, 1892. Cubery did not come to California until 1860. He had just served seven years' apprenticeship at the Riverside Press, Cambridge. For a while he edited a paper in Wilmington; but came to San Francisco in 1866, and the firm of Sterett & Cubery was organized. His partner later was Thomas J. Johnston, and still later, Francis W. van Reynegom. In 1900 he also wrote a book, *Fifty Years a Printer*, and his partner, van Reynegom, had previously published something on the same lines. He also retired from business after the San Francisco fire, and died in Oakland, August 14, 1908. I have not been able to obtain any information regarding Joseph Winterburn. He was associated with Whitton, Towne & Co. in 1853, and as late as 1866 with W. P. Harrison & Co. In 1866 he organized his own printing concern, which was very actively engaged in business until the nineties. Of Bacon & Co. I have already written.

H. H. Bancroft was an early publisher, but he did not go in for printing until 1870. The printing business was then turned over to A. L. Bancroft & Co., Alfred L. Bancroft being his younger brother. This firm probably did the most extensive business in printing and publishing books during the rest of the century.

H. S. Crocker & Co., a Sacramento concern since 1856, established itself in San Francisco in both the stationary and printing business in 1871, buying out Turnbull & Smith. John D. Yost was the junior partner and S. H. Wade, the manager. Wade had been an independent printer since 1859. The concern printed

books as well as doing a huge amount of purely commercial work.

The last printer of importance who began in this period, and achieved a great reputation, in later years was Charles A. Murdock, who came to San Francisco in 1864. He opened a job office in 1872, his partner being Charles L. Crackborn, and soon shared with Bosqui the title of leading printer, not perhaps in the volume of business, but in that of fine printing. The business was incorporated in 1893.

The following list of printing offices does not include those of newspaper or periodical presses, lithographers, printers of music, law books or trade journals. Some of them, however, printed weeklies, and occasionally, even dailies. Some of the publishers of weeklies did an extensive job printing business and a few of these are entered below; otherwise publishers without printing plants are not included. The list is derived in large part from the directories of San Francisco. Beginning with the Langley directory of 1858 these contain a list of printers in the classified part of the directory. Although not so stated these were job printers, newspapers not appearing in the list. I have not been able to find anything with the imprint of a number of these job concerns so listed and in such cases a dagger will be found in front of the names. In the list there is quite a number of printers who do not appear in the directories but whose names I have found on imprints. The list is no doubt incomplete, but is the best that can be offered at the present time.

Agnew (Thomas H.) & Deffebach (Thomas B.), 1856 to 1866.
Albin, Leonce Sr. and Jr., 1854 to 1866.
Albion Job Office, 1851.
Bacon (Jacob) & Co., The Excelsior Press, 1868 to 1880+.
†Baker (George H.) & Bawden (William G.), 1868 and 1869.
Bancroft (Alfred L.) & Co., 1871 to 1880+.
Barnes, William W., 1855.
†Barry, James H., 1879.
Bartlett, Columbus, 1853.

Bartlett, Washington, 1850 to 1857.
†Bawden, William G., 1870 to 1871.
†Bawden (William G.) & Forbes (J. S. Stuart), 1872 and 1873.
†Beard, Alfred, 1878 to 1880.
†Bell (William J.) & Freeman (Charles W.), 1862.
Bell (William J.) & Lampman (Robert), 1864.
†Bishop (D. M.) & De Mott (J.), 1871.
†Blake (Francis) & Moffitt (James) 1859 to 1865, predecessor of Blake, Moffitt & Towne, the great paper house.
Bonnard, Francis A., 1851 to 1856.
Bonnard (Francis A.) & Daly (Bernard H.), 1874 to 1880.
Bosqui (Edward) & Co., 1864 to 1880+.
Britton (Joseph) & Rey (Jacques J.), 1856 to 1880+, mostly lithographic printing.
†Brodie (James R.) & Co., 1877 to 1880+.
†Brown, John F., 1871 to 1880+.
†Browne, David P., 1871.
†Browne (David P.) & Mahanny (John A.), 1872 to 1873.
Bruce's (Donald) Book and Job Printing House, 1866 to 1880.
Bruce (Donald) & Brown (John F.), 1869 to 1870.
Bunker (William) & Hiester (Amos C.), 1879.
†Bumm (George W.) & Smith (Ashley L.), 1879 to 1880.
†Bynom (Alfred A.) & Co. (Marquand, Henry N.), 1874.
Bynom (Alfred A.) & Wright (Thomas?), 1874.
Calhoun, Charles A., 1857 to 1880+.
California Printing Co., 1879 to 1880.
Carmany (John H.) & Co., 1868 to 1880+.
Carr (Matthew D.) & Co., 1865 to 1871.
Carr (Matthew D.), Dunn (Charles B.), & Newhoff (Edward C.), 1872 to 1873.
Carson, Samuel & Co., 1877 to 1880+.
Central Book and Job Print, 1877.
Chase, Charles M., 1858 to 1861.
Chase (Charles M.) & Co., 1855 to 1857. His partner was Marcus D. Boruck.
†Clack, William, 1879 to 1880+.
Clarke, Francis, 1867 to 1872.
Clarke (Francis) & Fisher, 1864.
Clarke, Thomas Brownell, 1877.
Clough (Elijah) & Farjeon (Solomon), 1878 to 1879.
†Collins (John C.) & Co., 1869 to 1870.
†Collins Bros., 1873.
Commercial Book and Job Steam Presses (probably Valentine & Son) 1858 to 1861.
Commercial Job Printing Office (Monson's concern), 1852.
Commercial Steam Press (Monson's, Valentine's & Valentine & Co.), 1852 to 1864.
†Conger, Benjamin C., 1869 to 1880.
Coolidge, (W.), 1876.
Cosmopolitan Printing Co., 1869 to 1872.
Cosmopolitan Printing Co., 1876 (Thomas, P. J.).
†Crane (James M.) & Co., 1871.
Crane (James M.) & Raveley (Samuel), 1878 to 1879.

Crocker (H. S.) & Co., 1871 to 1880+.
†Cronin (William H.) & Gillespie (Farnham), 1862.
†Croudace (F. W.) & Co., 1876 to 1879.
†Crowe (Maxwell L.) & Cooke (William E.), 1880.
†Crowe, Maxwell L., 1871 to 1880.
Cubery (William M.) & Co., 1867 to 1880+. Thomas J. Johnston was a partner in 1879 to 1880. *See* Sterett & Cubery.
Cuddy (John) & Hughes (Edward P.), 1869 to 1875.
†Deakin (Walter & Frederick), 1873 to 1874.
†Deffebach (Thomas H.) & Co., 1867 to 1868.
†Dempster Bros. (Clancy R. & Daniel R.), 1878 to 1880.
†Denny (Edward) & Co., 1874 to 1877.
Dewey (A. T.) & Co., 1864 to 1880+. Publishers of the Mining and Scientific Press.
†Dewey (A. T.), Waters (E. D. Jr.) & Co., 1866. (In this firm were W. B. Ewer and C. W. M. Smith) job printers.
†Dondero, Charles, 1868 to 1872.
Dore (Benjamin) & Co., 1874 to 1880.
†Dunn (Charles B.) & Campbell (Stuart C.), 1866.
Dunn (Charles B.) & Neal (George F.), 1878 to 1879.
Eastman, Frank, 1852 to 1880+.
Eastman (Frank) & Godfrey (William M.), 1862. *See* Williams & Eastman.
Edwards, Anderson (member of C. F. Paul & Co. in 1852).
Elliot (George) & Co., 1860.
Eloesser, Leo, 1862 to 1880.
Empire Job Press, 1852.
Eureka Office, 1855 to 1856.
†Evatt, Frank B., 1880.
Excelsior Press. *See* Towne & Bacon, and Bacon & Co.
Excelsior Print, 1869 (probably the same as Excelsior Press).
†Farjeon, Solomon, 1880+.
†Fish (Edward P.) & Parker (Thomas N.), 1863 and 1864.
†Floto, George H., 1878 to 1879.
Francis (David B.), Valentine (S. D.) & Co., 1863 to 1866, and 1879+ when E. W. Goggin, a new man, joined the firm.
Francis (David B.) & Valentine, 1866 to 1878.
Franklin Job Printing Office. (Eastman's concern.)
Franklin Press, 1854.
Franklin Printing Office, 1868. (Probably the same as Franklin Job.)
†Germain, Dwight, 1879.
Gordon, Charles W., 1868 to 1880+.
†Goulette (Alfred J.) & Co., 1880.
†Greene, George W., 1880.
†Greene, Sol S., 1879.
†Gunnison, J. W., 1879.
Hamilton, Alexander, 1857 to 1858.
Harrison (William P.) & Co., 1863 to 1877.
Hinton, William M. & Co., 1877 to 1880+.
Hoffman (L.), Kee & Co., *c.* 1877. (Probably these people were publishing a Chinese newspaper.)
Hubert, Numa, 1862.
†Hughes, Edward C., 1874 to 1880.
†Hughes, John F., 1871 to 1880+.
†Jacoby, Philo, 1866 to 1880+.

†Jennings, John, 1874.
Jobson (David?), Sterett (Benjamin Franklin) & Painter (J. B.), 1851.
†Johnston (William) & Co., 1877 to 1878.
Kalloch (Isaac M.) & Co., 1878.
Kane (John) & Cook (Peter), 1873 to 1880.
†Kane (John) & Co., 1880.
†Kerr, David, 1876 to 1880.
Kerr (George) & Co., 1853. (Later state printer.)
†Kierski, John S., 1877.
†Knarston, John H., 1877 to 1880.
†Lafontaine, A. J., 1858 to 1880+. (Probably only printed the *Abend Post*.)
†Lampman, Robert, 1859 to 1870.
Layton (William) & O'Meara (John), 1853.
†Leary, Andrew J., 1876 to 1880.
†Lennon (Edward F.) & Evatt, 1880.
†Lewis, John A., 1855.
Lewis, Lewis L., 1863 to 1864, and 1867.
†Lieb, Charles W., 1872 to 1880+.
†Lieb (Charles W.) & Latson (Charles H.) 1868 to 1871.
Locke, Royal P., 1859 to 1860.
†Lockwood (T. Warren) & Co., 1862.
†Lovely (Noble) & McKee (William H.), 1861.
†Lovely (Noble) & Corse (John), 1868.
†McLean, Alfred A., 1872 to 1880.
†McLean (Alfred A.) & Co., 1868.
†Mahanny (John A.) & Brown (David L.).
†Mahon (Frank), Rapp (A. H.) & Co., 1872.
†Mahon (Frank), Rapp (A. H.), Thomas (Patrick) & Co., 1872.
Mission Local Print, 1878.
Mission Job Printing Office, 1878.
Monson (Burdett H.), Haswell (J. C.) & Co., 1852 to 1853.
Monson (Burdett H.), Haswell (J. C.) & Co., 1852 to 1853.
Monson (Burdett H.), Whitton (Abel) & Co., 1852.
Monson (Burdett H.) & Valentine, 1853 to 1857.
†Moore, Reuben Cutler, 1860 to 1866. (One of the owners of the *Alta*.)
Moore (Reuben Cutler) & Murphy (John J.), 1858.
Mullin (William J.), Mahon (Frank) & Co., 1867 to 1869. The Company consisted of William M. Hinton and Vincent A. Torras.
†Munfrey, Edmund, 1872.
†Munk, Richard, 1877 to 1878.
Murdock (Charles A.) & Co., 1872 to 1880+.
Murphy, Edward M., 1880.
†Newell (William H.) & Hamilton (Alexander), 1856.
†Newhoff, Edward C., 1874.
†Nunan, Jeffrey, 1874 (1875 editor *Irish News*).
Occident Book and Job Printing Office, 1869 to 1873.
Oliver (Henry) & Elder (Scott), 1876 to 1878.
O'Meara (John) & Painter (Jerome B.), 1854 to 1858.
†Overend, John A. T., 1860 to 1880+.
Painter, Jerome B., 1860 to 1880+.
Painter (Jerome B.) & Co., 1861 to 1867. The Company consisted of John M. and Theodore P. Painter.
†Parry (A. M.), Keefe (Richard W.) & Co., 1877.
†Paul (Charles F.) & Co., 1852 to 1854. Owners of the Franklin Job Office.

†Pearsall, Wallace M., 1877 to 1880.
Pearson, Joseph L., 1878.
Pettit (Thomas J.) & Russ (C. Christian), 1880.
†Phillips, J. K., 1861.
Pierson (Joseph T.) & Lampman (Robert), 1867 to 1868. Warren B. Ewer was also a member of this firm.
Pioneer Press, 1864.
†Rapp (A. H.) & Co., 1858. (Proprietors of *Le Phare*.)
Rapp (A. H.), 1868.
Rapp (A. H.), with Mullin, Mahon, & Rapp, 1870.
Rapp (A. H.), with Mahon, Rapp & Co., 1877 to 1880+.
†Raveley, Samuel W., 1880.
†Rice (James L.) & Co., 1878. (W. H. Davis was a member of this firm.)
Robbins, Charles F., 1857 to 1866 (except 1859).
Robbins (Charles F.) & Freeman (Charles W.), 1859.
†Roesch, Louis, 1880.
†Roller Bros. (Albert B. and John W.), 1880.
†Roller (John W.) & Layng (William G.), 1877.
†Rosenthal (Ludwig) & Germain (Dwight), 1880.
†Roth, Julius F., 1879.
San Francisco Coöperative Printing Co., 1871 to 1873.
†San Francisco Printing Co., 187–.
†Scott (George R.) & Co., 1869 to 1870.
Slocum, Amanda M., 1880.
†Smith (William) & Carpenter (William L.), 1858.
Smyth (Charles F.) & Shoaff (Philip L.), 1870 to 1873.
Spaulding (George) & Barto (Harrison), 1869 to 1878.
Spaulding (George), Barto (Harrison) & Co., 1879 to 1880+.
Spear, Thomas G., 1860 to 1870.
Spear (Thomas G.) & Co., 1867 to 1870.
Sterett, Benjamin F., 1854 and 1857.
Sterett (Benjamin F.) & Co., 1856, 1857 to 1880, except 1866 to 1867.
Sterett & Cubery (William M.), 1866 to 1867.
Sterett & Butler, 1858.
Stevens, George W., 1861 to 1874.
†Stevens (George W.) & Co., 1866 to 1867.
†Stevens (George W.) & Clough (Elijah), 1878.
†Stokes, Henry, 1879 to 1880.
Street, Cyrus H., 1877 to 1880.
Sumner, Whitney & Co., 1876.
†Swett (Don L.) & Bumm (George W.), 1874.
†Swett (Don L.) & Co., 1875 to 1877.
†Taylor, John P., 1873.
†Taylor (Howard P.) & Co., 1870 to 1872.
†Taylor (Howard P.) & Nevin (Charles W.), 1877 to 1880.
Thomas, Patrick J., 1876 to 1880+.
Thomas (Patrick J.) & Co., 1871.
Thompson, John, 1863 to 1866.
Towne (James W.) & Bacon (Jacob), Excelsior Book and Job Office, 1858 to 1868.
Tracy, James P., 1880.
†Truesdell (Orran P.), Dewey (A. T.) & Co., 1867 to 1869.
Turnbull (Walter) & Smith (James), 1864 to 1871.
Turnbull (Walter) & Co., 1863 to 1864.

†Turner (Henry A.) & Gunnison (J. William), 1877 to 1878.
Udell (Joseph M.) & Locke (Royal P.), 1857 to 1862.
Udell (Joseph M.) & Randall (W.), 1856.
†Upton, John P., 1869 to 1879.
†Upton (John P.) & Vernon, 1880.
Valentine (S. D. and Thomas B.) & Co., 1859 to 1863. In 1863 Francis was a partner.
Valentine (S. D.) & Son (S. D. Jr.), 1858.
†Vandall (B. C.), Croisett (George H.) & Carr (M. D.), 1864 to 1865.
Vandall (B. C.), Carr (M. D.) & Co., 1865.
Wade, Simon H., 1859, 1861 to 1862.
Wade (Simon H.) & Nixon (Robert Jr.), 1860.
†Wallace, John, 1869 to 1879.
Wallace (John) & Hassett (William J.), 1879 to 1880.
†Waters Bros. (Elijah D. Jr. and Frederick) & Co., 1862 to 1864.
†Waters & Co., 1873 to 1874.
Waters, Newhoff (Edward C.) & Co. (the Company was Charles D. Dunn), 1869 to 1872.
Weiss, M., 1869 to 1880+.
White (James T.) & Co., 1878.
Whitton (Abel), Towne (James W.) & Co., Excelsior Press, 1853 to 1858.
Williams (Franklin) & Eastman (Frank), 1855.
Williams (Henry E. E.) & Co. (William Heughes was a member of the firm), 1876 to 1880.
Winterburn, Joseph, 1865 to 1866 with W. P. Harrison & Co.
Winterburn (Joseph) & Co., 1866 to 1880+.
Wolfe, M., 1857.
Women's Coöperative Printing Union, 1867 to 1878.
Women's Press, 1878.
Women's Union Job Printing, 1874.
Women's Union Print, 1870 to 1873. (Probably the same.)
Woodbridge, Alfred F., 1877.
Woodward (William A.) & Co., 1867 to 1880. (The Alta Job Office.)
†Young, James W., 1853.

THE CLASSICAL TRADITION IN COLONIAL VIRGINIA*

By Louis B. Wright

EARLY in 1939 there came to light in the Huntington Library a hitherto unknown diary kept in shorthand by William Byrd of Westover from February 9, 1709, to September 29, 1712, filled with intimate details of the great planter's life. Among the many new facts that throw light on manners and customs of that day, one constantly recurring note deserves the attention of students interested in the intellectual qualities of colonial Virginians: Byrd makes an almost daily reference to his reading of Greek, with frequent mention also of the perusal of Latin works. Along with the Greek, particularly in the early months of 1709, he often read before breakfast a chapter of Hebrew. Amidst the bustling activity characteristic of a wealthy cavalier's life, Byrd reveals a serious and scholarly attitude toward the classics.

Reading Greek, studying Hebrew and re-reading his favorite Latin works, Byrd carried on a tradition of Renaissance learning that had reached the New World and survived into the eighteenth century. "In the evening I read some Greek in Homer," Byrd records on November 21, 1709. "About nine o'clock we returned to our chamber where I read some Latin in Horace." On October 16 he had been reading Lucian in Greek and the next day notes the reading of Terence in Latin. On November 11, he observes that "my wife quarreled with Mr. D-n [the parson]

* Read at the San Francisco meeting, June 21, 1939.

and me for talking Latin and called it bad manners." Of the minister, Byrd had previously commented that "Parson D-n is a man of no polite conversation, notwithstanding he be a good Latin scholar." Not merely was Byrd interested in classical literature, but he also had a very real interest in the classical languages as languages. It is worth noting that he writes that he has been reading "Greek in Homer" and not "Homer in Greek"; the emphasis was on the Greek language. Day after day, he sticks to a routine of study in which he performs a regular stint, reading Greek, Latin, and Hebrew, besides such modern languages as Italian and French.

William Byrd, a gentleman-scholar who was an ornament to Virginia from the late seventeenth century until his death in 1744, had no monopoly of classical learning. Other planters before and after him were concerned with the language and literature of Greece and Rome, as well as with the good lessons believed to be locked in those ancient repositories. Perhaps the classical culture of the Virginia cavaliers has been exaggerated by romantic writers, but as new evidence comes to life, there is fresh proof that the Virginia ruling class looked to the past for guidance and believed that civilizing influences were to be learned from the wisdom of the ancients. The ruling planters were eager that their children should be brought up in the old tradition of the Latin grammar schools. Throughout the colonial period, Latin remained the hall-mark of the educated man.

Symbolical of this respect for the classics that was to continue for generations was the first literary work in Virginia. In the 1620's George Sandys, one of the first gentlemen-planters, completed his translation of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* which he published in London in 1626. From that time until the days of Thomas Jefferson — and even later — the classics properly maintained their high place in the cultural aspirations and ideals of the gentry.

Colonial libraries of Tidewater Virginia show a remarkable proportion of classical works. A recent investigation of approximately one hundred representative pre-Revolutionary libraries has shown that twenty-six per cent of the contents of these libraries could be grouped under the classics and languages.[1] Although this classification included some modern language texts, the majority of the linguistic works dealt with the ancient tongues.

One of the earliest Virginia libraries of which there is detailed record was one sent over in 1635 as part of the professional equipment of the Rev. John Goodborne, an Anglican minister, who died before he reached his parish at Merchant's Hope. The library numbered 157 works. In addition to the sermons and theological treatises believed necessary to the salvation of the Virginians and the heathen, Goodborne had carefully selected a group of twenty-seven works from the best Greek and Roman authors. These writings included poetry, plays, history, science, philosophy, and oratory. There were two anthologies of classical poetry besides that famous ancestor of Bartlett's quotations, Natalis Comes's *Mythologiae.* There were historical works of Thucydides, Plutarch, Caesar, Justin, and Suetonius; the poetry of Homer, Virgil, Pindar, Ovid, and Horace; the satires of Juvenal and Persius; the plays of Plautus and Terence; the moral observations of Seneca; the philosophic and scientific works of Aristotle; the medical treatises of Celsus; the natural history of Aelianus; and both the theory and practice of oratory as found in Isocrates, Quintilian, and Cicero. Goodborne had taken care that his classical works should have the greatest utility to his parishioners, and to that end he had included translations of some of the most important, in addition to texts in the original tongues. Thomas North's translation of Plutarch's *Lives* — a work to

[1] George K. Smart, "Private Libraries in Colonial Virginia," *American Literature*, X (1938), 32.

which Shakespeare was much beholden — an English translation of the plays of Terence, a poetical rendering into English of Virgil's *Aeneid*, and another edition of Virgil with pictures and notes were designed to make these classical works understandable even to unlearned Virginians.[2] Perhaps Goodborne thought the pictures of Aeneas would in some way improve the manners and customs of the heathen Indians to whom he also planned to preach salvation.

The belief that the library of every gentleman and scholar should demonstrate a respect for the classics became a tradition in Virginia. Although classical learning was not the inheritance of every Virginian who made money in tobacco, a remarkable number of the ruling class gained sufficient knowledge of Latin and Greek to make classical works in the original languages not altogether useless, while others, with less learning, relied on translations. Most libraries of any pretensions contained some of the classics. Even the smaller collections often had their share of Greek and Roman authors. Among the seventeen titles listed in the inventory of Colonel Southey Littleton in 1680, there were a copy of Aesop's *Fables* in Latin, a book of selections from Plautus in Latin, and a translation of Lucian's *Dialogues* in English.[3] In a library of something over fifty books, left in 1674 by Mrs. Sarah Willoughby, widow of a Lower Norfolk County planter, there were over a dozen works of Greek and Roman authors, including four volumes of Ovid, Aesop's *Fables*, the works of Virgil, Cicero, and Statius, and several unspecified books of Latin prose and poetry.[4] John Carter, who left a library of sixty-two titles in 1690, had an English translation of a treatise on military tactics by Aelian; Plutarch's *Lives* in North's translation; Homer's *Iliad*, probably in George Chapman's

[2] R. G. Marsden, "A Virginian Minister's Library, 1635," *The American Historical Review*, XI (1905–6), 328–32.

[3] *William and Mary College Quarterly*, 1st ser., VIII (1900), 230–31.

[4] *The Lower Norfolk County Virginia Antiquary*, I (1896), 122-23.

translation; Virgil's *Works* in John Ogilby's English version; and Ovid's *Historical Epistles* in one of several English versions of the period. Carter was apparently convinced of the value of the classical authors, but he preferred them in an English dress.[5] Indeed, it would be a grave mistake to suppose that all the colonists who still looked to the ancients for information or wisdom wanted or were able, like Byrd, to dig it out of the original. English translations of standard classical authors were sought out and bought by Virginians who wanted an acquaintance with the culture of antiquity but lacked the linguistic equipment necessary to obtain it at first hand.

One of the wealthiest and most cultivated planters of the last quarter of the seventeenth century was Colonel Ralph Wormeley of Rosegill. At his great house, Wormeley entertained lavishly and came nearer than most of his contemporaries to illustrating the sort of Virginia cavalier pictured in works of fiction. But even though Wormeley was regarded as one of the gayest gentlemen in Virginia, he had a wholesome respect for learning and literature. His library, inventoried at his death in 1701, numbered nearly four hundred well-selected volumes, and in this collection there were some of the best of the classical authors in both the original languages and in translation.[6] Here were to be found the ever-present Aesop — which, it might be pointed out, was a common text-book — works of Plutarch, Thucydides, Virgil, Ovid, Horace, Cicero, Seneca, Terence, Lucan, and Quintus Curtius. The number of historical works in this list is noteworthy and illustrates a taste for ancient history that was characteristic of the seventeenth end eighteenth centuries alike.

From early in the eighteenth century onward, the percentage of classical works in Virginia libraries increased. Although the

[5] Louis B. Wright, "The 'Gentleman's Library' in Early Virginia: The Literary Interests of the First Carters," *The Huntington Library Quarterly*, I (1937), 40–45.

[6] *William and Mary College Quarterly*, 1st ser., II (1894), 170–74.

seventeenth-century settlers had brought an appreciable number of Greek and Roman authors, the necessities of frontier life had made them concentrate on the books most essential to their new life in the wilderness. Since this was so, it is remarkable that many considered classical authors of elemental necessity. As the ruling class in the eighteenth century gathered about themselves the trappings of civilization and polite culture, libraries, like other luxuries, increased. And in these libraries, the classics had an important place.

One of the best-rounded book collections in the early part of the century was gathered by a clerk of the House of Burgesses, one Godfrey Pole, whose library was catalogued in 1716. Among the one hundred and eleven varied titles, he had the works of Homer, Virgil, Horace, Ovid, Juvenal, Persius, Lucan, Martial, Seneca, Suetonius, and Justin.[7] When the inventory was made, the compiler noted that Pole had two copies of Virgil, one in Latin and one in English, both of which had been lent to neighbors and not returned. Clearly classical authors were collected for something more than ostentation.

The best classical scholar in Virginia during the early eighteenth century was the second Richard Lee of Mount Pleasant, Westmoreland County, ancestor of the distinguished Lees of later generations. The son of an exiled cavalier, young Richard obtained in some way a sound classical training, though the exact nature of his schooling is unknown. So great was his concentration upon learning that the family historian of the Lees observed somewhat sourly that "Richard spent almost his whole life in study, and usually wrote his notes in Greek, Hebrew, or Latin . . . ; so that he neither diminished nor improved his paternal estate."[8] Even though Richard devoted long hours to the study of learned languages, he did not slight his duty to the

[7] *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, XVII (1909), 147–50.

[8] Edmund Jennings Lee, *Lee of Virginia, 1642–1892* (Philadelphia, 1895), p. 75.

state, and, like most of his class, he served the colony in positions of honor and responsibility.

No other Virginia library previous to this time had a greater proportion of works of classic authorship than Richard Lee's. His collection of the literature of Greece and Rome was well chosen. As examples of the theories of oratory laid down in textbooks, he had the orations of Demosthenes and Cicero. Among philosophic works were the writings of Aristotle, Epictetus, Seneca, and the not always edifying collection of the lives and sayings of the philosophers compiled by Diogenes Laertius. The historians were amply represented and included the works of Xenophon, Plutarch, Livy, Sallust, Tacitus, Caesar, Quintus Curtius, Velleius Paterculus, and Suetonius. Classic poetry, drama, and other belles-lettres included the works of Homer, Hesiod, Lucian, Heliodorus, Virgil, Horace, Ovid, Lucan, Martial, Terence, Claudianus, Juvenal, Persius, and other less well-known works, including a Greek and Latin version of *Aurea Pythagoreorum carmina*, Pliny's epistles, the epigrams of the Alexandrian grammarian, Callimachus, and Octavian Mirandula's anthology of classic poetry, *Illustrium poetarum flores* (1598). Altogether, the collection of classics was remarkably complete for a colonial library, and we can be reasonably sure that these books were intended to be read by their owner rather than displayed for purposes of learned ostentation. What proportion were translations, the inventory does not make clear; some were doubtless English versions, but the probability is that most were in their original tongues. Acquaintance with classical writers, so often demonstrated by Virginia leaders, can be attributed to such libraries as Richard Lee's as much as to the educational practices of the time. Few libraries of any importance were without translations of at least a few of the great Greek and Roman writers, and, in a later day, many a Virginian without benefit of university training found it easy to quote from

Cicero, Virgil, Ovid, or some other ancient writer who suited his purpose.[9]

An intimate friend of Lee was Robert Carter of Corotoman, who, for his pride and wealth, won the soubriquet of "King" Carter. This great planter, the master of thousands of broad acres, had been brought up in the tradition of the Latin grammar schools. His father had provided in his will that a manservant "be bought for him that hath been brought up in the Latin school and that he constantly tend upon him not only to teach him by books in either English or Latin according to his capacity (for my will is that he shall learn both Latin and English and to write) but also to preserve him from harm and from doing evil."[10] Young Robert was also sent to England for seven years of schooling under a Latin grammar master. So great was his own respect for the Latin tradition as the backbone of education that later, in 1724, when he sent his own sons to be educated in England, he wrote his agent in London expressing displeasure because the schoolmaster, one Solomon Low, had not followed the rigid methods laid down by the great Czech educationist, Comenius. "I could wish Mr. Low had kept in the old way of teaching the Latin tongue and had made my boys perfect in their understanding of Lilly's *Grammar* and of the old school books that we and our forefathers learned," Carter commented. "There is one book which did me the most service of any that I was acquainted with, to wit, the *Janua Linguarum Trilinguis* in Latin, English, and Greek, writ by John Comenius, the best stock of Latin words, and in the best sense to suit the genius of boys, even to their manhood, of any book that ever I met with in my life." Carter was particularly eager that his son Landon perfect himself in Latin and Greek, and was anxious that he be given a

[9] This paragraph is taken from Louis B. Wright, "Richard Lee II, A Belated Elizabethan in Virginia," *The Huntington Library Quarterly*, II (1938), 10–11.

[10] See for the source of these quotations Wright, "The 'Gentleman's Library' in Early Virginia," pp. 7, 19.

broad and thorough training, for, he commented further, "It is not reading a few scraps from the poets and the other classics that make boys understand the scope and design of the authors."

King Carter's library, contrary to what one might expect, was less well equipped with classical texts than most collections gathered by great planters. Though he reverenced the Greek and Roman tongues, he preferred for his own reading — if we can trust the evidence of the inventory of his library — English translations. He owned English editions of Homer, Plutarch, Aristotle, Tacitus, Ovid, Horace, and Cornelius Nepos. It is possible, however, that before his death his choicest classical texts had been given to one of his sons and hence were not included in the inventory.

The qualities exhibited by Lee and King Carter in their attitude toward classical culture were characteristic of many other members of the Virginia aristocracy, then and later. Time will permit only the mention of a few of the Virginians who collected classical books and read them.

William Byrd's zeal for classical study has already been noted. His great library, the finest in America at that time, had most of the works of Greek and Roman writers then available. Among more than thirty-six hundred titles, nearly three hundred were classical texts and commentaries. Byrd was careful to get the best and most recent editions in the original tongues as well as in translation. The influence of Byrd's library, like those of other planters, was wider than the owner's household. Neighbors borrowed Byrd's books or read them when visiting at Westover. A man of Byrd's interest in the literature of the ancient world could not have helped talking about his intellectual hobby with the more intelligent planters who were associates. By precept and example, Byrd must have stimulated an interest in classical culture among his social peers.

The library of Daniel Parke Custis, son of William Byrd's brother-in-law, John Custis, and first husband of Martha Wash-

ington, is worthy of note for its classical works. A catalogue of the library, made soon after the widow's marriage to George Washington in 1759, shows the division of a part of the books between Custis's son and the boy's stepfather.[11] Most of the classical texts went to young Custis, but Washington received a copy of Aesop's *Fables*, surely a book from which the future father of his country could draw much wisdom. A reader in the Custis library could have consulted the works of Homer, Plutarch, Plato, Hippocrates, Martial, Quintilian, Juvenal, Ovid, Seneca, Terence, Cato, Cicero, Justin, Pliny, Lucretius, and Suetonius. There was also a commentary on Aristotle and *A Comparison between the Eloquence of Demosthenes and Cicero*. The Custis books are typical of the gentleman's library in the middle of the eighteenth century.

A somewhat later library which illustrates the continuing interests — if not, indeed, an increased taste — for the classics was gathered at Nomini Hall by Robert Carter, grandson and namesake of King Carter, whose classical interest we have already noted. To distinguish him from other Carters of the same name, the lord of Nomini Hall was called Councillor Carter. He lived in magnificent splendor and his house was a center of cultivation and hospitality. Thanks to the diary of Philip Fithian, a young Princeton clergyman who served as tutor in the Carter household in the years 1773–1774, we have a picture of the gracious existence in this aristocratic circle, and, incidentally, of the emphasis on classical reading. To the Calvinistic youth just out of Princeton, the gaiety and liveliness of the young Carters was something to wonder at, and he was astonished to find that their father had not neglected to bring them up with a proper respect for learning, a matter of surprise, for he had conceived the notion that rich Virginia fathers were overly indulgent and not given to disciplining their children. As Fithian wrote to a friend,

[11] *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, XVII (1909), 404–12.

the Rev. Enoch Green, in December, 1773, Mr. and Mrs. Carter's manner of bringing up their children was "far superior . . . to any I have ever seen, in any place or in any family."[12] To Fithian, who had been led to expect idle frivolity, it was even more surprising that Mr. Carter was a learned and serious man. "He seems to be a good scholar, even in classical learning," he wrote his friend, "and is [a] remarkable one in English grammar." The eldest son, then turned seventeen, was "reading Sallust and the Greek grammar." "Mr. Carter has an overgrown library of books, of which he allows me the free use," Fithian observed; and, in describing its riches, he asserted that it contained "all the Latin and Greek classics." If the catalogue that Fifthian made of the library shows that it was something short of complete in the classics, it was nevertheless an excellent collection.

The attitude toward the classics and the libraries mentioned here illustrate a prevailing and consistent taste among the Virginia ruling class throughout the eighteenth century. Gentlemen were expected to have a familiarity with the literature of Greece and Rome, and they gathered in their libraries collections of the standard works of the ancient world. It would be a mistake, however, to assume that these men were scholars in the technical sense of the word, or that their knowledge was profound. The gentleman's ideal was not to be a specialist, but to have a familiar acquaintance with the good things of life, whether in the realm of the material, the spiritual, or the intellectual. Gentlemen looked upon classical literature as a great repository of practical wisdom. They read Homer, Plutarch, Livy, Cicero, or any one of a score of other ancient writers more for practical utility than for esthetic delectation. The ancients had discovered great stores of wisdom, and from these reser-

[12] John Rogers Williams (ed.), *Philip Vickers Fithian: Journal and Letters* (Princeton, 1900), 278–79. A catalogue of Councillor Carter's books, made by Fithian, is reprinted in the *William and Mary College Quarterly*, 1st ser., XI (1902–03), 21–28.

voirs gentlemen of the eighteenth century drew much of their own learning and philosophy. At this late day, it is difficult to appraise the amount and quality of the classical influence. Looking backward, we might surmise that Virginians who read Cornelius Nepos's *Lives of Illustrious Men* were stirred by these biographies of Greek, Carthaginian, and Persian patriots, that the germ of Patrick Henry's oratory could be found in such reading, and in the orations of Demosthenes and Cicero. That Virginia oratory owed much to the precepts and examples of Quintilian and Cicero is perfectly clear. That Virginia leaders were profoundly influenced in their political thinking by their contemplation of the works of Greek and Roman historians is indisputable. That morals and ethics were subtly affected by Aristotle, Plutarch, Seneca, Epictetus, and Epicurus cannot be denied. But no one in this day can say how great was this influence. Undoubtedly it was far more important than the modern world can readily comprehend, for we have lost our reverence for antiquity and we presume to despise those things which are not modern and up-to-date.

One of the clearest revelations of the classical influence upon a great Virginian — one who bridges the span between the colonial and the national era — is to be found in the shrewd and penetrating study of Thomas Jefferson's literary interest made by Professor Gilbert Chinard.[13] Jefferson, educated at the College of William and Mary and brought up in the classical tradition, believed passionately in the value of Greek and Roman culture. During his youth and later life he kept a commonplace book in which he entered favorite passages from authors both ancient and modern. These excerpts, and the comments he made upon them in his letters and elsewhere, show that Jefferson used the classics as a reservoir of wisdom. "Whatever may have been his enjoyment of Greek poetry," Professor Chinard points out, "there is

[13] Gilbert Chinard (ed.), *The Literary Bible of Thomas Jefferson: His Commonplace Book of Philosophers and Poets* (Baltimore, 1928).

little doubt, from the evidence available in the *Commonplace Book*, that Jefferson read the Greek classics for their practical value and in order to derive from them a moral profit."[14] Jefferson cared little for the theorizing and philosophy of Plato, and, unlike most other statesmen of his day, he disliked the rolling periods of Cicero. But from other Greeks and Romans he gathered a practical philosophy and a store of apt quotations which he assimilated as part of his own cultural inheritance. This is not the place to repeat the details of Jefferson's classical debt, a study already so ably presented by Professor Chinard, but it should be emphasized that Jefferson's use of the classics was the use to which they were generally put by that body of cultivated and intelligent leaders who established our nation between the years 1776 and 1787. The ancient world provided these men with a cultural anchor. They looked back upon the literature, philosophy, and history of Greece and Rome as something permanent, enduring, and valuable for the instruction that the modern world might find therein. The classics provided a philosophic and an intellectual mooring. Nothing in our modern world is so certain and so unquestioned as the belief held by the men of 1787 in the wisdom of the ancients.

[14] Ibid., p. 11.

PROPAGANDA IN EARLY AMERICAN FICTION*

By LYLE H. WRIGHT

TODAY, a large majority of us have an aversion for the word propaganda. We are inclined to associate it with the machinations of war makers, oppressors, and special interests. We think of propagandist organizations as functioning under cover, toward ends that are sinister to the common good. However, we must abandon these implications while using the word in connection with this paper, because almost invariably the propaganda that is to be found in early American fiction was written, not for the aggrandizement of any person, organization, or state, but to persuade the people to act on their own behalf for their moral and physical betterment.

Webster defines propaganda as "any organization for the spreading a particular doctrine or system," and also "the doctrine or principles thus propagated." The *New English Dictionary* defines it as "any association, systematic scheme, or concerted movement for the propagation of a particular doctrine or practice." F. E. Lumley has summarized many of the innumerable modern uses of the word, most of which are not adaptable to this paper. However, he makes one statement that is to the point for our purpose — namely, that "the content of propaganda is, not so much facts and soundly marshalled evidences, as it is generalizations or conclusions — and emotionally charged conclusions at that."[1] If we combine this statement with the

* Read at the San Francisco meeting, June 21, 1939.

[1] F. E. Lumley, *The Propaganda Menace* (New York, *c.* 1933), p. 145.

aforesaid dictionary definitions, we approximate the meaning of the word as used in the present paper — that is, the doctrine of social reform was forced upon the attention of readers by use of emotionally, rather than factually, charged conclusions.

What follows is not offered as a detailed account of such propaganda in our early fiction; rather, the purpose is to indicate a possibly new and certainly undeveloped approach to the study of American fiction through 1850. The literary historian has carefully examined the novels and tales prior to 1830, but he has not accorded the same attention to the more than 1,100[2] separately published works[3] issued in the following twenty-one years — 1830 through 1850. Rightfully or not, the literary historian's neglect has been due, at least in part, to the fact that a large percentage of the 1,100 titles falls into the sub-literary class. If we bear in mind that the low level of the literature was occasioned largely by the desire of authors to spread doctrines of social reform to the masses, it will be seen that the real value of these writings lies in the field of the social historian.

Propaganda in fiction was an outgrowth of the propaganda pamphlets issued preceding and during the American Revolution. Such pamphlets were circulated to bolster the American cause, unite the people, and offset the loyalists' attacks. What many of these pamphleteers advocated was only a reflection of current thought, garnered by the authors from their friends and at public meetings. There is no doubt that the pamphlets were, at least in part, responsible for consolidating the colonies in a united front against England, and in moulding public opinion.

After America was acknowledged as an independent country and the new government well established, many citizens desired to know more about their land and the possibilities of bettering

[2] L. H. Wright, "A Statistical Survey of American Fiction, 1774–1850," *Huntington Library Quarterly*, II, [no. 3 (1939)], 309–18.

[3] The short stories and tales in periodicals, annuals, or gift books are not included in any statistics here mentioned.

themselves. Prospective settlers wanted information about the frontier, aspiring young business men wished to read of new developments in their fields, and the new brides demanded household books which would guide them in their daily occupations. Thus, with an increasing demand for books, it was only natural that an occasional one would be read for entertainment, and reading of that sort would gradually gain momentum. When reading for pleasure reached such proportions as to achieve nation-wide recognition, outside interests were quick to perceive a new medium of reaching the masses.

From 1774 to 1820, nearly half a century, about 90 titles of fiction were published. In the next ten years, 1820 to 1830, 128 titles were published, and this figure was doubled in the following decade. During the last eleven years of the period under discussion, or from 1840 through 1850, there were over 800 titles of American fiction offered to the reading public.

A great many of these hundreds of novels and tales are the work of propagandists who were interested in the current problems of their day. I am able to mention and discuss only a few of the more out-standing ones with which these writers concerned themselves — namely, lotteries, debtors' imprisonment, slavery, intolerable conditions under which women worked, and intemperance.

Although many novelists touched on current problems and occasionally expressed their opinions and beliefs through the actions and statements of their characters, only the propagandists attempted to influence readers on any really controversial subject. This is particularly apparent with regard to the rising agitation against the lotteries in the early nineteenth century. Casual references are met with in the novels but few fictions writers joined the campaign condemning the practice.

The various histories of lotteries tell us that disapproval did not become general until the professional operators took them

over. Before that occurred, people had not, apparently, regarded such a way of raising money as a form of gambling. And even well into the nineteenth century we find many churches being built or maintained with the aid of their own lotteries, Earlier, when roads were to be improved, a bridge constructed, or a town hall erected, recourse was had to this method of obtaining funds. Many libraries were founded or expanded, schools aided, and colleges enlarged by the same means. H. M. Brooks wrote that leading citizens took part in the various lotteries, and that it was considered as respectable to sell a lottery ticket as to sell a Bible.[4] In fact, some advertisements mentioned Bibles and tickets in the same line.

In 1822 appeared one of the earliest uses of fiction in this movement, entitled, *The Lottery Ticket: An American Tale*. The anonymous author was shrewd enough to cast his story against a rural background, one that could be easily visualized by all classes of readers. The fact that he chose rural New Hampshire was incidental — any state would have served. To increase the probabilities of the book's being read, it was written in very simple language. A second edition was brought out in 1827, with the addition of new material, against dissipation and luxury. In 1832 appeared *Henry Wallace*; *or*, *The Victim of Lottery Gambling*, attributed to J. R. McDowell. This little story is written around New York City, and like the *Lottery Ticket* its effectiveness is based on an emotional conclusion. A few students might class these as moral stories. True, there is a moral in each, but the real objective of both is the spreading of a doctrine of opposition to lotteries, and they succeed in doing so, not by presenting facts, but by playing on the feelings of the readers.

A word may here be said about the simplicity of construction of the two stories just mentioned. The authors fully appreciated that the masses were not sufficiently educated to grasp subtleties,

[4] H. M. Brooks, "Curiosities of the Old Lottery," in *The Olden Time Series* (Boston, 1886), p. 8.

so they kept the language within the understanding of everyone. This is the common denominator of nearly all of the fiction that falls in the propaganda class; hence, as literature, its study has been neglected. However, the form of presentation has not lowered the value of the contents as material for the social historian.

Charles Burdett, in the preface to his *The Elliott Family; or, The Trials of New York Seamstresses* (1845), covers the use of fiction so well in one aspect of the labor-reform movement, that I quote at length:

> In the pages which follow, there is no single line which cannot be substantiated by abundant proof of its truth . . . I have perhaps committed an error in weaving a story with such a subject; but I felt well assured that a dry detail of facts, however well authenticated, would be, if read at all, forgotten too soon for any advantage to accrue by exciting public sympathy to those whose advantage I had in view . . . My sole object has been, to show to the public the utter inadequacy of the compensation paid for female labor, taking into consideration the nature of the work, and the time consumed . . . It has not been written for the sake of writing but with the simple wish, that through the statements it contains, public attention may be aroused to the true condition of the seamstresses of New York.

Burdett's writing for a cause and not for money or to gain recognition as a man of letters was the general rule followed by the propagandists. In fact a goodly percentage of all the propaganda fiction was published without any clues to the identities of the authors.

Today, published studies are available that treat of the position in American literature of Negroes, slaves, and Indians.[5] A new approach to these subjects can be made when our literature is resurveyed for the propaganda element. Also, a number of new titles, that have a direct bearing on the subjects, have come to light since the publication of these works.

[5] J. H. Nelson, *The Negro Character in American Literature* (Lawrence, Kan., 1926); L. D. Turner, *Anti-Slavery Sentiment in American Literature Prior to 1865* (Washington, *c.* 1929); A. Keiser, *The Indian in American Literature* (New York, 1933).

Fiction was used to help build up opposition to imprisonment for debt. In 1834 appeared an anonymous story, *The Debtor's Prison*, published by Asa Greene and sometimes attributed to him.[6] The author stated in the preface that the story was written to illustrate the evils attending imprisonment for debt, that many people were in favor of abolishing such a practice, and that this opinion was daily gaining ground. At the time the story appeared, a few states had repealed or amended their laws, but one of these, New York, contained a group of people that were agitating for the return of imprisonment for debt.

A second edition of *The Debtor's Prison* (1835), added Samuel Johnson's "Remarks on Imprisonment" to strengthen the case further. Frederick Jackson, T. S. Arthur, and others wrote in behalf of this issue.

Fiction was used as a medium of propaganda in the introduction and furtherance of the temperance cause, more than in any other single reform movement.

One of the first temperance societies in the country was formed at Moreau, Saratoga County, New York, in 1808.[7] Others of similar nature were soon organized throughout the country. By 1826 the powerful American Temperance Society was founded, and national campaign work was begun. Speakers expounding the evils of drinking toured the country, and many medical associations backed their claims of the injuriousness of drink. As the movement gained momentum and the public slowly awakened to consciousness of such wide activity, the fiction dealing with contemporary life naturally came to make references to it. In the thirties the temperance people adopted fiction as one of their more effective propaganda methods. By 1850 a larger number of tales and novels was published for their

[6] *Appleton's Cyclopaedia of American Biography* (New York, 1887–1918), II, 748; O. A. Roorbach, *Bibliotheca Americana . . . from 1820 to 1852* (New York, 1852).

[7] A. F. Fehlandt, *A Century of Drink Reform in the United States* (Cincinnati, *c.* 1904), p. 37.

cause than for all the other reform movements added together.

The temperance tales were usually issued as small pamphlets which one could easily carry about in a pocket or take on trips, without adding bulk or weight. These pamphlets not only were sold at a nominal cost, but hundreds of thousands of copies were also distributed free.

The majority of writers for temperance were women, but, interestingly enough, two men, Lucius Manley Sargent and Timothy Shay Arthur, led this large army, both in output and influence. Few people today know anything about Sargent or even recognize the name, and Arthur is remembered for only one title, *Ten Nights in a Bar Room* (1854), four years later than the period under discussion.

Sargent was born in Boston, June 25, 1786, of moderately wealthy parents. He attended Harvard but was forced to resign because of trouble over his published remarks about the college culinary department. However, Harvard apparently forgave him, as a degree was conferred in 1842, partly in recognition of his services in the temperance field. After leaving Harvard, Sargent studied law and passed the bar examination but never actively practiced, for about this time he inherited an income that allowed him to turn to literature.[8]

His first tale appeared in 1833, with the sentimental title, *My Mother's Gold Ring*. Six years later it was in its 113th thousand. The Rev. J. B. Dunn, in his "History of the Temperance Movement,"[9] stated that Sargent's tales roused more people, exerted more influence, and had wider circulation than any other temperance literature. He says, further, that "in attractiveness of style and beauty and pathos of narrative these tales have never been excelled by any temperance stories of the age."[10] A. F.

[8] See S. J. Kunitz and H. Haycroft, *American Authors* (New York, 1938).

[9] Published in the International Temperance Conference, *Centennial Temperance Volume* (New York, 1877), pp. 421–543.

[10] Ibid., p. 443.

Fehlandt also considered Sargent's tales to be the most effective in advancing and strengthening the temperance movement.[11]

Sargent in one of his book-length stories, *The Stage Coach, Founded on Fact* (1838), said in his preface, "It is the object of the present publication to illustrate the truth, that there is no protection against the evils of intemperance in age, or sex, or conditions." This statement really could apply to any one of his twenty-five or more temperance tales.

T. S. Arthur, unlike Sargent, did not confine his attention to a single reform movement, but was interested in and wrote in behalf of many. His writings also far exceed Sargent's in number. He was born on a farm in New York, 1809, and in a roundabout way his family reached Baltimore in 1817. Biographical accounts record that Arthur was not a good student and left school at an early age to become a clerk in a countinghouse. To say definitely in what year he started his serious writing would be difficult, for he seems to have drifted into the profession rather than to have adopted it at any given time. However, by 1850 he had at least fifty separately published titles to his credit, as well as innumerable short stories in periodicals, gift books, and annuals.

Temperance was the theme of many of Arthur's stories, the most successful one in this period being *Six Nights with the Washingtonians*, which was first issued, in six parts, in 1842. A fourth edition was demanded by 1850. On the covers of the first issue of the first night's tale, "The Broken Merchant," there are reprints of fifteen different reviews that had appeared in current publications: to name a few, the *Boston Transcript*, *Baltimore Patriot*, *Philadelphia Daily Chronicle*, and *Saturday Evening Post*. The consensus of opinion was that the story was well told by a very popular author and would do much to advance the temperance cause. The *Saturday Evening Post* review read in part, "Many persons will peruse truths presented in the agree-

[11] Fehlandt, op. cit., p. 68.

able form of a tale, who would perhaps fly from them if dressed up in a more severe garb." The reviewer recognized that effective propaganda was not marshaled facts and figures, but emotional appeal.

The American people witnessed, in the early years of the nineteenth century, many developments and changes in their country. Not only were new territorial frontiers being opened, but new spiritual and intellectual ones as well. The boundaries of literacy were expanding, and that expansion produced a type of writing, in our fictional literature, that we describe today as sub-literary, because it was consciously "written down" for consumption by the masses. Its value is perceived only when literary merit ceases to be the guiding star of study. C. R. Flory's dissertation, *Economic Criticism in American Fiction, 1792–1900* (1936), demonstrates the point. His work sets forth the economic problems of the period, as reflected in the novels, and also gives the novelists' solutions of the problems.

If this method of approach were adopted in the study of the effect of propaganda, in fiction, on the progress of social reform, certainly the results would more than compensate for the labor, and be a welcome contribution to our knowledge of the period.

THE HOOVER LIBRARY ON WAR, REVOLUTION, AND PEACE*

By H. H. Fisher

THIS institution about which I am privileged to speak to you has had three names. It first appeared in the Stanford University official publications as the Hoover War Collection; later it became the Hoover War Library and during the last year it has been rechristened the Hoover Library on War, Revolution, and Peace. The reason for these changes is a simple one: the institution outgrew its names.

The Hoover War Collection was entirely appropriate in the early days. Mr. Hoover began to make the collection in 1914 when he organized the Commission for Relief in Belgium. At that time and later after the United States had entered the war and he had become United States Food Administrator, he and his associates were concerned primarily in the collection of materials relating to the war, but the United States was now included. When the war ended and Mr. Hoover returned to Europe to become head of the American Relief Administration and Director General of Relief for the United States and the Allied Powers, the opportunities for collecting were greatly extended. In the first place the war-time restrictions on movement and most of the censorships were removed. Secondly, most of the governments, both old and new, were well disposed to the United States and especially to anyone connected with Mr. Hoover's widespread humanitarian activities. Government documents, previously unobtainable were released, all sorts of ma-

* Read at the San Francisco meeting, June 21, 1939.

terials relating to the revolutions of 1917, 1918, and 1919 and to the new states and their problems were secured by Messrs. Adams, Lutz, Golder, and others whom Mr. Hoover engaged to carry on these collecting activities. Collecting was greatly aided by the friendly relations established by the American Relief Administration with central and local governments, public and private organizations and individuals in the states of Central and Eastern Europe from Finland in the north to Turkey and Greece in the south. In 1921 when the American Relief Administration began its operations in Russia it was possible to extend the collection of Russian materials from the Russian borderlands to Russia itself.

These extensions of the fields of collecting beyond the period of the war led to extensions in other directions. For example, it was obvious the causes of the war went back beyond the diplomatic crisis of 1914; territorial problems which the Peace Conference attempted to settle, the nationalist and revolutionary movements which so influenced events in the immediate post-war years originated long before the new national and socialist governments came into being. It seemed desirable, therefore, to supplement the original war collection by a library of printed works dealing with the political and economic background of the war. In this fashion the Hoover War Collection became the Hoover War Library.

Just as it seemed necessary to go back beyond 1914 so it proved to be impossible to stop in 1920 after the signing of the post-war treaties. There were plebiscites and mandates; there was the League of Nations with its many departments and varied activities; there were the problems of security and disarmament, of national minorities, of reparations and war debts; there was the Soviet régime in Russia with its revolutionary program at home and abroad; and there were the new governments and new policies in Germany and in the Austro-Hungarian and Russian succession states. These were too closely tied up with the

war and the peace treaties to be dropped on an arbitrarily chosen date. Then came the Fascist revolution in Italy which acquired a new significance with the rise of National Socialism in Germany. Thus although in the case of certain areas the Library's materials relate to events between the years 1914–1925, this is not the case in the fields in which it is strongest. The Library has undertaken to extend and carry on its collection of materials not only on the causes and conduct of the war, the peace treaties and the problems arising therefrom but also on the political and social movements which have swept across the world in these recent troubled years.

This is how the Hoover War Library outgrew its second name and this is why it is now called the Hoover Library on War, Revolution, and Peace.

It is not easy to measure the growth of these years. Some notion of the present content may be gained by considering several general categories. First there are publications of governments. These include the publications of legislative, executive, and administrative bodies, central and local, of 60 countries and number about 25,000 volumes. They cover the World War period intensively and include parliamentary and diplomatic documents of the Great Powers and Belgium for the pre-war years since 1870. In the post-war period government publications have been collected principally for Soviet Russia, Germany, Italy, France, and Belgium. A second category, consisting of miscellaneous books and pamphlets, comprises about 80,000 volumes in 27 languages, originating in 33 different countries. The newspapers section contains 1,724 titles, including fragmentary files, in 26 languages and from 40 countries. Under the heading of serials are 7,100 titles, including fragmentary sets, in 32 languages from 44 countries. A rather unique section of the Library are the publications issued and distributed by 3,565 war-time and post-war organizations and societies in 54 countries. In quite a different category are the 31,000 posters and photographs, the

2,060 sheets of military and other official maps, 281,000 feet of 35 millimeter film, a large collection of war-time currencies, script and money tokens, and a collection of 275 war-time and post-war medals.

In addition to these categories of printed materials are the manuscripts. These are of three general types: the papers of individuals; the archives or parts of archives of organizations engaged in public service; and the documents of official bodies representing one or several governments. The various items in these three groups vary greatly in size and their importance is determined by many factors, not least of which is the particular interest of the one who uses them. I shall mention only a few of these items which I hope will show not the bulk but something of the scope and variety of this division of the Library.

Among the personal papers those of Mr. Hoover are naturally of first importance. They cover the long period of his public service since 1914 and they touch upon most of the great questions of public interest in national and international affairs during that period. That part of these papers relating to the period since 1921 is not yet organized and hence is not open for use. Of another generation are the papers of V. P. Platonov, Minister-Secretary of the Kingdom of Poland in the reign of Alexander II. These consist of correspondence, memoranda, notes, telegrams, reports in Russian, Polish, and French and relating to affairs in Poland during the years 1861–1866, when the Poles made their last futile rebellion against the Imperial Russian rule. The papers of Jay Calvin Huston, who was United States vice-consul and consul in China from 1917 to 1932, are concerned with the progress of the nationalist movement in China, the establishment of the nationalist government and the beginnings of the Chinese communist movement. The papers of Dr. David Starr Jordan contain his correspondence, memoranda, reports on the peace movement and internationalism for the years 1913–1925. George D. Herron was a friend of President Wilson and

his unofficial observer in Switzerland during the years 1917–1919. Dr. Herron's position was well known and all sorts and conditions of men came to see him and those who couldn't come wrote. His papers, therefore, deal with a great variety of political questions of interest to governments, parties, national and religious groups. Dr. Heinrich Kanner, editor of *Die Zeit*, of Vienna, preserved in his papers accounts of his travels through Germany and Austria-Hungary in 1914–1918, and summaries of his interviews with public figures in these countries. The Wagner-Dzvonkevich papers contain letters, diaries and manuscripts of N. N. Dzvonkevich, a leader of the Russian revolutionary society, "Narodnaia Volia," which flourished in the seventies of the last century, and of his daughter, who was the associate and correspondent of leaders in the revolutionary movement in the first decades of the century and under the Soviet régime.

Of the archives of organizations engaged in relief and other public service the largest are those of the Commission for Relief in Belgium and the American Relief Administration. These archives are of great interest to the historian because the relief operations were conducted on the basis of periodic reports on economic and health conditions made by local and American investigators and because the operations involved negotiations with many governments and government agencies and were concerned with a vast number of activities; river, rail and sea transport, fuel production and distribution, universities, schools and hospitals, clothing manufacture and distribution, sanitation, and the hazards of political and military policies. Of a similar character though less extensive are records of the war-time activities of the American Red Cross, the Near East Relief, the Y.M.C.A. and other organizations which have deposited portions of their archives in the Library. The economic and some of the political troubles of the new states are described in the files of the American experts who served as technical advisers to Poland, Czechoslovakia, Austria and Jugoslavia. The records of nation-

wide investigations in the United States of child health and protection, medical economics and housing are contained in the Ray Lyman Wilbur Collection on Social Problems.

The unpublished official materials of governments and international committees and commissions are in the form of typewritten or mimeographed manuscripts, printed but unpublished documents and in some cases handwritten notes and correspondence. Under this heading are minutes, reports and miscellaneous documents of various inter-allied bodies such as the Inter-Allied Food Council, the Inter-Allied Munitions Council, the Allied Maritime Transport Council which existed during the war; of the Supreme Council, the Supreme Economic Council and various other councils and commissions of the Paris Peace Conference; the Reparations Commission, the Inter-Allied-Rhineland Commission, the London Monetary and Economic Conference, 1933, the Sixth International Conference of American States, Havana, 1928, and other international commissions and conferences. Unpublished government documents include materials from the Austro-Hungarian Government, the Hungarian Government, of the Imperial Russian Government, the Imperial German Government, the Prussian General Staff, of the short-lived Rhineland Republic, the Far Eastern Republic of Siberia, the Crimean Government, the anti-Bolshevik Governments in South Russia, Siberia and elsewhere.

The triumphs of totalitarianism have very considerably affected the significance of the Hoover Library, particularly of some of its special collections which I should like, in conclusion, to mention. The totalitarians have made it superflous for their citizens to do research in the social sciences. The totalitarians know the answers already. This state of affairs not only puts an end to free scholarship as we conceive it, but it transforms libraries and other depositories to which scholars have turned for their raw materials, into reservoirs of propaganda. But the effects of this situation are not confined to the countries subjected to totali-

tarian régimes. We are affected also, for our scholars who wish to do research in the social sciences are discouraged or defeated by the restrictions, limitations and pressures put upon them. We are thus, as time passes, forced more and more to rely on the smooth, machined product of the totalitarian mill or on the vigorous but ill-proportioned handwork of the opposition. This is a great pity, not only from the point of view of scholarship but because in these troubled times we could learn something from the totalitarians' experience if we were permitted to find out what that experience has been and not merely what the totalitarians want us to think it has been.

The Hoover Library cannot, of course, supply what has been lost to scholarship by the dispersion and destruction of private and organizational libraries and archives, by the destruction of books and papers, by the closing of sources as the result of revolutionary upheavals and official decrees. Nor can this Library take the place of what must certainly be destroyed if a great totalitarian war occurs, but it is able to mitigate these losses through having preserved some of these essential sources.

How the Library can perform this function may be illustrated by mentioning some of its special collections which relate to Russia and Germany. Soviet scholars have quite naturally followed the party line in their interpretation of Russian history before, during and since the revolution and civil war. This interpretation is not distinguished by a desire to find much that was good in the policies and acts of the Bolsheviks' opponents or their predecessors in power nor have the present rulers encouraged the publication of memoirs or documents of their adversaries. Not only that, but ten years ago a quarrel within the Russian Communist party led to the expulsion of Trotsky and his followers and later many who had held positions of leadership in the party were accused of treason, found guilty and executed. These events within the party have necessitated a rewriting of the history of the revolution to prove that the earlier histories and historical

documents were wrong in attributing anything but a subversive part to those former leaders who have since been disgraced. It is only fair to say that the opponents of the Communists in general or of the Stalinists in particular have shown no less enthusiasm in their denunciations. But in the Hoover Library it is possible to study the policies of the Imperial Government and the Provisional Government which followed it in the official documents, in the Russian newspaper and periodical collections, in such individual collections as those of M. V. Rodzianko, President of the State Duma, of A. N. Naumov, member of the State Council and Minister of Agriculture and others, and in the memoirs of Count Kokovtsov, Prime Minister and Minister of the Treasury, V. I. Gurko, Assistant Minister of the Interior, which have been published by the Library. The revolutionary movement from the middle of the nineteenth century may be followed in the Nikolaevsky collection of books, pamphlets, manuscripts and files of newspapers and serials issued clandestinely or legally in Russia and abroad by the various revolutionary groups between 1858 and 1921. The events of the revolutions of 1917 and the civil wars are revealed from various angles in the Russian Revolution Newspaper Collection which contains 260 titles for the years 1917–1918, in the Guins and Krukov Collections dealing with the civil war and the anti-Bolshevik formations in Siberia and the Russian Far East, and in the Golder Collection of diaries, memoirs, memoranda and reports by participants in or observers of the revolution. The policies of the Soviet régime from its establishment are recorded in the collections of Soviet government documents, in the 40 files of Soviet newspapers and periodicals, in the collection of reports by 150 American engineers professionally employed in Russia, and from the outside by the files of some 25 Russian emigré newspapers published in Europe, Asia and the United States and representing all points of view from Monarchists and Fascists to Social Democrats and Anarchists.

In the case of Germany, since the Nazis came to power, the machinery of propaganda and censorship have been employed to establish certain officially sanctioned theories regarding the causes of the World War and of Germany's defeat, the role of Socialists, Communists and Jews in the misfortunes of the Weimar Republic, and the iniquities of Germany's neighbors in the treatment of Germans living abroad. Outside the Reich sources which contradict these official theories are more accessible than in the case of Russia but the Hoover Library possesses, in addition to government documents of the Imperial, Republican and Nazi periods, a number of special collections of particular value for the study of these questions. Among these are the Leipzig Collection of 5,000 items dealing with labor, socialist, and communist activities during the war and revolution; the Mönkemöller Collection of 20,000 items including war history and propaganda, economic and social conditions, camp and trench papers, official proclamations and regulations, war prisoners, the German revolution; the Franz Collection on the German and Austrian revolutions, the newspaper and serial collections of the Third Reich and, from the other side of the border, the German and Austrian emigré collections. The Library's collections on Austria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Poland are sufficient to furnish the American or the foreign scholar with valuable sources which cannot be closed to him by changes of rule in Europe.

Events which were, of course, not foreseen when the collection was begun have made the Hoover Library a sanctuary where the materials for scholarly research may be deposited and preserved and where, regardless of their current official standing, they may be freely used by competent persons regardless of their race, politics or creed.